

The Antiquaries Journal

Being the Journal of the Society of Antiquaries of London

VOLUME XXVI

JULY-OCTOBER 1946

NUMBERS 3, 4

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Published by

GEOFFREY CUMBERLEGE. OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

LONDON EDINBURGH GLASGOW NEW YORK TORONTO MELBOURNE

CAPE TOWN BOMBAY CALCUTTA MADRAS

Quarterly: Price Five Shillings net. Annual Subscription, 18s. 6d. post free

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PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN

The Antiquaries Journal

VOLUME XXVI

JULY-OCTOBER 1946

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ANNIVERSARY ADDRESS

By SIR CYRIL FOX, Ph.D., F.B.A., President

[Delivered 2nd May 1946]

THE fruits of that Victory to which we referred with pride and hopefulness at the last Anniversary Meeting and of the one which so quickly followed it have been slow to manifest themselves in our homes or in our wayfaring; but the wheels of peace-time industry *are* turning and as a chronicler of the year's work of the Society I have a pleasant task. Great difficulties have been met, but these difficulties, thanks in large measure to the efforts of the Assistant Secretary and his staff, have been surmounted.

In the first place we have got all our possessions back under our own roof even though that roof has not yet been properly repaired. The Council has expressed its gratitude to the friends of the Society—individual owners of country houses and institutions in safe areas, over thirty in number, widely spread in England and Wales—who cared for them for so many years. We are glad the period of their exile is over. The pictures are in their accustomed places, the books on their shelves; the colours of the library carpets gleam with unremembered brilliance. By arrangement, Dr. Deane took up his new office in time to superintend the return of the Library, and thus had the opportunity of obtaining personal knowledge of its range, character, and condition, and of making alterations that seemed desirable in its arrangement. The lighting has been improved and books can now be read in all the bays. It should here be said that every effort is being made by the Library Committee to repair the break in continuity caused by the war, and to obtain important archaeological and other works and serials published in Europe from 1939 onwards.

The event of the year—a major event in the Society's history—was the Exhibition of the Royal Effigies, sculpture, and other works of art from Westminster Abbey. The enforced removal of these historic treasures, and their careful cleaning prior to replacement, offered, it was realized by our Fellows the late and much lamented dean of Westminster, Dr. Paul de Labilliere, and the Surveyor to the Fabric of the Abbey, Sir Charles Peers, a unique opportunity of enabling students and the public to inspect them collectively and at close quarters, in a manner impossible in the Abbey itself. This opinion having been conveyed to the Society, a committee was set up under the chairmanship of the Director, Mr. James Mann, to make the best arrangements for public exhibition the circumstances of the time permitted, Dr. Audrey Baker being appointed Exhibition Secretary. It had been

hoped by the committee that the exhibition would be staged in the Society's Rooms; but the number and weight of the objects rendered this impossible, and the offer of Mr. Leigh Ashton, Director of the Victoria and Albert Museum, to provide the accommodation needed was gratefully accepted.

It was a fortunate choice. The Director's skill, and the resources of his great Museum, produced a setting and an arrangement of the exhibits which provoked admiration from all who saw them. Their Majesties the Queen and Queen Mary visited the exhibition on different occasions and were graciously pleased to express their appreciation. It should be added that the Society had authorized a grant for the expenses of this undertaking which was more than recovered by the sale of the excellent catalogue which had been prepared by the committee. Opportunity has, by permission, been taken to fill the gaps in the photographic record of these works of art, and the Council has authorized the preparation by the Director and his helpers of a volume of the size and format of *Archaeologia* as a permanent record of a unique occasion. On all counts the Society has reason to be deeply grateful to everyone concerned.

Procedure. The Council has again invoked the war-time powers available under the Chartered Bodies (Emergency Powers) Acts, 1939 and 1941, to reduce the numbers of members whose term of office expires to-day to seven. The question of the promotion of an amendment to the charter is under consideration.

At an extraordinary meeting held on 29th November last certain alterations and additions to the Statutes proposed by the Council were approved, the principal of which were rendered necessary by the appointment of the Librarian, and for regularizing the activities of certain committees.

The question of the times of meetings has been discussed by the Council, and five o'clock has been agreed upon. It is not possible at present owing to transport difficulties to return to evening meetings, the pre-war custom of the Society, and the present arrangement permits many Fellows in the outer suburbs and the home counties to attend.

An increase in the number of papers offered has enabled the Secretary to increase the number of meetings during the Session at which papers are read from the war-time level of seven; indeed in February and March meetings were held weekly.

Papers read. The meetings have been well attended; that at which our Fellow Mr. O'Neill summarized the war-time excavations on various sites, neolithic to medieval, sponsored or carried out by the Ministry of Works, showed us once again how inadequate is the accommodation of the Lecture Room when a subject of general or topical interest is discussed. The Chief Inspector of Ancient Monuments described the losses—ancient sites destroyed without investigation—as well as the gains to knowledge accruing through this enforced work, and thanked those Fellows who had done so much to help the full-time civil servants concerned in the work. Keen hope was expressed at the meeting that the State would recognize its responsibility for publication of this mass of material; and in reply to a letter subsequently written by myself the Minister of Works stated that his Department recognized its responsibility. This is an important and gratifying advance.

Few of us can forget the excitement that attended the discovery of the Sutton

Hoo boat-grave, or the satisfaction with which we followed its successful excavation and learnt of the generosity of the late Mrs. Pretty, the owner of the site. We recall the rich beauty of the gold ornaments described in these rooms by Mr. C. W. Phillips in February 1940, and the partial publication of the find in the *Journal*. At that time we learnt with regret that half the secrets of the find must remain unsolved, because the material had gone underground for the period of the war. This buried material has now been made available for study; the first-fruits of that study were laid before the Society by Mr. John Allen (the coins) and Mr. Herbert Maryon, who, working in the British Museum Laboratory under Dr. H. J. Plenderleith, had reconstructed the badly damaged shield.

A paper by our Fellow Mr. F. Wormald on the 'Peterborough Psalter' drew the attention of Fellows to a very important manuscript, long in the possession of our Society, securely dated in the early twelfth century. It is of great liturgical interest, and has historiated initials and full-page illuminations and drawings of the highest quality, many of which have never been reproduced. It was clear to those present that definitive publication by the Society of this and other treasures in our possession is very desirable.

I confess to having missed several important papers, including that on 'The Antiquities of Malta', by our Fellow Mr. H. S. Braun, which drew attention both to the vandalism and the bomb damage which medieval buildings in the island have suffered.

Exhibits. The policy of having exhibits available for the inspection of Fellows during the ballots has proved popular, and this Session we thought those present at these meetings would like most of all to see some of our own returned treasures. Dr. Deane has arranged two exhibitions that delighted the Fellows: one, a selection from our rich collection of early printed books, and the other of manuscripts connected with the Society's early history, chiefly memorials of our first Secretary, Dr. Stukeley. Fellows were also asked to inspect and comment on our famous lamp, which an exhibited volume of the Minutes showed to have been 'found with' Bronze Age implements.

Publications. The 91st volume of *Archaeologia*, the last in the old typesetting, received by Fellows in December last, was very welcome; the Oxford Press deserves the thanks of the Society for having maintained until the very end of the war such quality in paper, print, and binding. Few important serials, surely, in this country have come so well through a time of scarcity. Especial welcome will be given to an exhaustive study of small long brooches by our Fellow Mr. E. T. Leeds, long awaited and much appreciated by students of the Anglo-Saxon pagan period. The *Antiquaries Journal* is still, owing to paper restrictions, published half-yearly instead of quarterly; the whole of volume xxv is now out.

Research Committee. The Research Committee has been reconstituted with the primary object of formulating a long-term policy of research, and the Council has accepted its recommendation that a stated portion of the resources allotted to research shall be devoted to field work sponsored by the Society. The work chosen is the study of dykes and defensive linear earthworks. This branch of field archaeology has an advantage of importance to-day, in that much field survey can and must

be done before any excavation is necessary. Another advantage is that these structures being found all over Britain, research will need to be organized regionally, and so Fellows in the provinces can help: they range in date, moreover, from Iron Age to medieval times, and thus interest students of many periods.

The committee is also considering ways and means of encouraging research on problems of Roman Britain, and on the character and construction of town houses of the medieval and sub-medieval periods.

The Congress of Archaeological Societies and the *Council for British Archaeology* should, I think, be referred to in this address. Representatives of local societies were invited by our Society in 1888, when (Sir) John Evans was President and Harold Dillon Secretary, to take counsel together for (1) 'the better organization of antiquarian research', and (2) 'the preservation of ancient monuments and records'. The body thus formed held its first meeting as the *Congress of Archaeological Societies in union with the Society of Antiquaries of London* in our rooms on 17th July 1889. With rare exceptions the meetings, as everyone interested in British archaeology knows, have been held annually thereafter, the President of the Society being *ex officio* President of the Congress. The creation of the Council for British Archaeology in 1944 in the manner described by Sir Alfred Clapham in his Anniversary Address of that year would, it was recognized from the outset by those prominent in the counsels of both bodies, probably involve the disappearance of the Congress. The last meeting of the Congress took place here on 29th November, when the delegates present took formal steps to terminate its existence. The Council for British Archaeology was at the same time invited to carry on its well-known series of Research Reports (on the year's work) and to publish two other studies sponsored by the Congress—the *Revised Classification of Earthworks* and *A Policy for Research*. For these funds had in part been provided, and have been handed over to the Council.

The Congress by its deliberations, by the work of its committees, and by its publications has, during a half-century which has seen remarkable developments in the science of archaeology, taken an important and active part in moulding opinion, whereby its aims have in large measure been achieved. The minute books of the Congress have been placed in the Society's library, and an historical survey of the work it accomplished has appeared in the *Antiquaries Journal*.¹

Thanks to a generous grant of £300 a year from the Carnegie Trustees for five years for administrative expenses, the Council for British Archaeology is in a better position to sustain the new responsibilities it has shouldered.

Excavation work in bombed cities and towns. A combination of adverse circumstances for a long time prevented the Society's Committee from carrying out the preliminary work in the cleared area of Roman London, envisaged in my last Anniversary Address; but a beginning was made on 25th March under the direction of our Fellow Mr. W. F. Grimes, Keeper of the London Museum; grants for the work commensurate with the Society's interests in the archaeology of London have been voted. Test excavations have been carried out at Southwark with good results, under the control of our Fellow Miss Kathleen Kenyon; and important

¹ *Antiq. Journ.*, xxvi, 61–6.

preliminary work aided by grants from the Society was undertaken at Canterbury, at Exeter, and at Dover, under the direction respectively of our Fellows Mrs. Audrey Williams and Lady Fox, and of Mrs. Murray Threipland.

Ancient Monuments and Town Planning. Sections 42 and 43 of the Town and Country Planning Act, 1944, charge the Minister with the duty of making or approving lists of buildings of special architectural or historic interest and of taking certain consequent (protective) action. Moreover, by Section 42 (4) he is required, before compiling any lists, to consult with such persons or bodies of persons as appear to him appropriate as having special knowledge of, or interest in, buildings of architectural and historic interest. This new law represents an important advance, in that inhabited buildings are covered by it. As is well known, the Minister has appointed a committee under the chairmanship of our Fellow Sir Eric MacLagan to advise him upon all matters connected with the administration of these two Sections of the Act. This great work is involving the fruitful co-operation of existing organizations concerned with ancient buildings, in particular the Royal Commissions and the National Buildings Record, and a new investigating and co-ordinating paid staff is being built up.

This specific problem apart, the expansion of the staffs of the Royal Commissions for their proper task, which is understood to have received official approval, is to be welcomed. It has been urged in the review columns of the *Journal* many times in the past quarter of a century.

Art and Monuments in Europe. A paper read in December last on the 'Monuments of Italy and the War' by our Fellow Lieut.-Col. J. B. Ward-Perkins illustrated a subject which was much in our minds this time last year; he showed, as does a printed brochure¹ compiled from War Office records by the government-appointed British committee on the 'Preservation and Restitution of Works of Art and Archives in Enemy Hands', how much has here been done by Sir Leonard Woolley and his staff. Reference has already been made to the disquieting report on ancient monuments in Malta. No authoritative survey of the destruction of monuments in western and north-western Europe during the last phase of the war is yet available, but we know that a very high proportion of portable antiquities and works of art looted by Germany have, by the appropriate organizations in the armies, been found and restored to the countries which owned them.

Aspects of Research in Britain. The reception given last year to my appeal for a National Archaeological Register—favourable, though not yet productive of any practical results—encourages me to mention other aspects of research work which are much in my mind.

One is the comparative neglect of structural problems in British archaeology, and the value of graphic methods in securing consideration of and creating interest in them. Consider, for example, the plans of the Sanctuary and Woodhenge so carefully set out by Mr. and Mrs. Cunnington. Whether or no we agree with our Fellow Mr. Stuart Piggott's reconstructions published subsequently, under the title 'Timber Circles: a re-examination',² we shall never again look at these plans

¹ *Works of Art in Italy: Losses and Survivals of the War; Part I, South of Bologna*, H.M. Stationery Office, 1945.

² *Arch. Journ.*, 1940, xcvi, pp. 193 ff.

incomprehendingly or regard the sites as just rings of holes. Moreover, and this is even more important, anyone working in our tradition who has to investigate any similar site will be schooled to notice any feature which may confirm, modify, or disprove Piggott's view of the character of Early Bronze Age public buildings. Thus a great service is done by him to our science, whether his pioneer work be correct or no. The necessity for reconstructions has been realized by Fellows working on problems of the Roman occupation: you will, for example, recall Dr. Wheeler's reconstruction of the south gate at Verulamium, and that of the Agricolan fort at Fendoch by Mr. Ian Richmond.

The impact of a specific problem prompted these cogitations: namely, what was the British chariot of the first century b.c. like? The dramatic entry into classical literature of the war technique practised in Britain at that time should, all else apart, have stimulated the research necessary to answer the question. But though in the nineteenth century chariot-grave after chariot-grave was opened on the Yorkshire wolds, no one had sufficient imaginative grasp of the opportunities presented even to measure and plot the relative positions of, let us say, terrets, wheels, and bridle bits. I recall only one recorded measurement other than wheel diameter in the whole series of reports of excavations: that of the length of the pole in the barrow at Cawthorn Camps, Yorks. It is idle but inevitable to reflect that, had the technique employed at Sutton Hoo been available, we could undoubtedly have obtained from these graves data enabling us to reconstruct a scale model, exact to every bolt and mortise, of the vehicle through which tactics so flexible, manœuvres so rapid, evolved in our inter-tribal wars, were employed against the Romans.

Had anyone attempted at any time during the last quarter of a century, on the basis of such slender data as could be found, to publish a reconstruction of a chariot with the avowed object of testing it by future discovery, it could hardly have been possible for excavations in a chariot-grave to take place, as they have taken place, without such record, in our generation. I am acting on this belief, and I hope my remedy for such inadequacy, risky as it is, may be proved a right one.

The other 'aspect of research' concerns our native building crafts. Years ago, at the opening of the folk museum at Cambridge, I remarked with an eye on the late Dr. A. C. Haddon in the front row, that so far as accessible records were concerned, we knew more about the native building crafts of New Guinea than of Cambridgeshire. It is as true now as it was then that our knowledge of the traditional styles of building in medieval and renaissance Britain, their peculiar features and geographical limits, is inadequate. There is no more interesting constructional form visible in our ancient houses than that of the cruck truss (curved-tree principals). Are there two distinct types, as Innocent in his gallant single-handed effort at synthesis affirmed, and which is the older? What are their respective distributions? The geographical range of the cruck in Britain generally has in any case still to be determined.¹

Cruck trusses apart, whence does the wooden building technique of the midlands and of the Welsh marches from Cheshire to north Monmouthshire derive?

¹ Cf. Innocent, *Building Construction*, 1913, apparently older than the forms in which it is p. 33: "The form with the timber angularly bent is bowed...."

By what successive steps did the style reach the bizarre elaboration of some of its seventeenth-century examples? Does it, as has been affirmed, represent a spread of the half-timber styles of the south-east (from Suffolk to Sussex) or has it an independent (western) origin? The answers will depend primarily on an expert study of constructional details in the earliest examples in each area. It is curious how little studied some constructional details are. The muntin-and-board type of wooden partition (the studs being equal in breadth to the panels) is universal in lowland Monmouthshire from the mid-sixteenth to the mid-seventeenth century, and I have seen it elsewhere in Wales. It occurs, and may be equally common practice, in Devon, Dorset, Sussex, and maybe elsewhere in the south, but I understand that it is not met with in the north. What then are its exact geographical limits? Again, I have recently discussed in print¹ with necessarily inconclusive results the interesting problem—where was that common object of the country-side, the external, asymmetric gable chimney-stack, evolved?

Lastly, anyone who goes about with his eyes open and is interested in the literature of the subject will have noticed that there are variations in plan in various parts of England and Wales in small sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century houses reflecting similar economic levels. In my own limited experience layout is surprisingly uniform in yeomen's houses in a given region, at a given time; what then is the distribution of such variations? The answer should provide us with a clue to ancient cultural boundaries in Britain.

There is, of course, a great amount of data bearing on this really vast subject of Regional Architecture to be found in archaeological and architectural journals,² in books on local architecture, and in the volumes of the Royal Commissions (in the latter less perhaps than we have a right to expect). Apart from Innocent's work, and our Fellow Dr. I. C. Peate's *The Welsh House*, most syntheses deal mainly with the aristocratic tradition in house building, and these useful surveys tend to represent an intimate knowledge of one or two regions only. More could not be anticipated; for there has hitherto been lacking the necessary team-work, the card-indexing of available data, the accumulation of records of basic detail from every part of the country, for the purpose I have described; and for lack of a scientific outlook in these matters many relevant publications, several of the 'Cottages and Farmhouses' of this or that county for example, fall short of a reasonable standard of usefulness. An introduction, brief and discursive, followed by a succession of façades without the corresponding plans, sections, and details which reveal internal layout and structural character is of little help to the student. The National Buildings Record (guided by our Fellow Mr. W. H. Godfrey) will be the national depository and of course a most valuable mine of information; but intensive and well-directed regional field work—resulting in distribution maps together with plans and measured drawings of typical and atypical structures—is, I suggest, the prime need to-day.

It is certain, whatever be the effect of the brake on destruction or wholesale modernization afforded by the Act to which I have referred in a previous paragraph,

¹ 'Some South Pembrokeshire Cottages', ² Admirable work has been done, e.g. in Cambridgeshire, in recent years.
Antiquity, 1942.

that the time within which we can hope to get the evidence which will enable maps showing the incidence and exact range of regional rural styles of building in Britain, and maps of specific traditional building techniques to be constructed, is short. We want indeed such distribution maps as have long been a feature of research on the continent.¹ The happy-go-lucky era in our British country-side is over; the era of planning for good or ill upon us. After the great achievements in research of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, it was widely held that medieval studies were (archaeologically speaking) worked out; with the result that archaeological students of the period to-day are too few in number. How wrong that was! Here is a great and largely unexplored field of study—one of many that might be discussed—the sub-medieval corner of which is, sociologically, of primary importance, opening out before us. It demands the archaeological approach; while we cannot do without the technical skill and knowledge of our friends the architects we must not expect them to solve our problems for us. How wide are the prospects! For while the survey work on the yeomen's houses of Britain is going on, we can address ourselves to the fascinating and complex problems of origins—social, economic, environmental, and cultural—of the several styles.

I now come to the last, and pleasantest, part of my task; it is to present the Gold Medal of the Society, given 'for distinguished services to Archaeology', to our Fellow Mr. Edward Thurlow Leeds. To commend the services of Mr. Leeds to British archaeology in the presence of an audience so well acquainted with the man and his work might seem unnecessary, but a recital, however brief, should be, and is, integral to this honour, the highest which the Society can confer.

Mr. Leeds published in 1913, three years after he became a Fellow, the *Archaeology of the Anglo-Saxon Settlements*, which has had a profound influence on all subsequent studies of the period, historical and archaeological. During the thirty years and more that have elapsed since this publication he has developed and extended his work on the subject, by the publication of his Rhind Lectures (1935) on *Early Anglo-Saxon Art and Archaeology*, by his excavation and reports on cemeteries and settlements around Oxford, and by numerous typological studies on Anglo-Saxon grave-furniture, the latest of which is in the current *Archaeologia*.

It is proper to stress these services to Early English historical scholarship, but none will underrate his work in prehistory, from the Neolithic to the Early Iron Age. *Celtic Ornament in the British Isles down to A.D. 700*, a full-dress survey, was published in 1933; of the important papers printed in *Archaeologia* it perhaps suffices to recall with pleasure and admiration the breadth of outlook illustrated by his analysis of bronze cauldrons in the British Isles and his study of the Iron Age civilization in Cornwall based on excavation work at Chun Castle, Penwith. Mr. Leeds's medieval and post-medieval interests, illustrated by his papers on a Berkshire castle, Elizabethan mural paintings, tradesmen's tokens, and Stuart glassware, should moreover not be forgotten; they round off this necessarily inadequate illustration of a widely ranging and active mind.

¹ Such maps are to be found even in popular works: e.g. Albert Dauzat's *Le Village et le Paysan de France*. See the map, 'Répartition des principaux types d'habitations rurales', twelve in number, on p. 43 of the 16th edition, 1941.

Many friends of our Gold Medallist will rightly urge that his greatest service to archaeology is as a teacher and inspirer, in the field and in the classroom, of successive generations of Oxford undergraduates; to appreciate this outstanding service, one has only to turn the pages of our Fellowship, or indeed, to look around this room to-day.

Mr. Leeds's research, as well as his teaching, was firmly and fittingly based on lifelong service to a great and famous institution. He has been thirty-seven years in the Ashmolean Museum, since 1908 as Assistant Keeper in the Department of Antiquities, and since June 1928 as Keeper of the Department and Keeper of the Museum. During his keepership the Museum has flourished greatly; he was largely responsible for the planning, in the widest sense, of the extensive and impressive additions to the building—galleries, library, laboratory—carried out in recent years, and now a hive of fruitful work and study.

Mr. Leeds retired from the Museum in July last; the present Anniversary Meeting is therefore a fitting occasion for the Society to show its appreciation of his work. We hope that he may enjoy health and happiness in retirement, and we have been encouraged to look for further fruits of his scholarship and ripe experience in the years of leisure which he has so well earned. I now ask Mr. Leeds to accept this Gold Medal with our appreciative good wishes.

HUMPHREY, DUKE OF GLOUCESTER, AND THE GARDENS OF ADONIS

By T. D. KENDRICK, *Secretary*

IN the architectural description in the *Victoria County History* of the superstructure over the tomb of Humphrey, duke of Gloucester (d. 1447), in St. Albans Abbey, there is a drawing by our late Fellow, the Rev. E. E. Dorling, of a frequently repeated ornamental detail that is called 'a device of daisies in a standing cup', and there rightly said to be one of the duke's badges, for it was observed that it was used not only in conspicuous decorative bands, but also as the cresting of the coronets over the duke's arms¹ (pls. xiv and xv). In 1796 our famous Director, Richard Gough, also noted and figured this badge, which he described as 'wheat-ears in vases on pedestals', and he suggested that it was the device of Abbot John Whethamstede who, he thought, had built the tomb.² Chauncey (1700) and the later historians of Hertfordshire made no reference to it; Weever (1631) did not notice it, nor did Sandford (1677), whose beautiful, but in this respect inaccurate, illustration of the canopy shows the device as an angel's head with wings.

Humphrey's odd-looking badge had, however, been noted, probably independently of its use on the tomb, by the Tudor heralds. There is an early sixteenth-century coloured drawing of it, cup or and foliage *vert*, in a College of Arms MS. now titled 'Garter Stalls temp. Henry VII and Henry VIII' (f. 1) to which Mrs. Maude has drawn attention (pl. xvi a); there is also a simple trick in much the same form and labelled with the same colours in another College of Arms MS. 'Garter Types and Badges' (Badges, no. 15), a collection of tracings made by or for Anstis (Garter, 1715-45) from a manuscript probably of c. 1525³ that had belonged to Ashmole and afterwards to the duke of Montagu. It is not, of course, certain that the source here was in fact Humphrey's Garter Plate; there is a drawing of his arms and crest that may possibly have been copied from this (the original is now lost) in 'Garter Types and Badges' (Types, no. 6) that does not show this device, and it would, in fact, be unusual for a Garter Plate to bear this somewhat irrelevant detail, though three Garter Plates of the fifteenth century do have badges displayed in the mantling, and John Beaufort, duke of Somerset, has his badge of an ostrich feather prominently displayed beside his arms;⁴ here, however, all we are justified in saying is that the badge as recorded in these heraldic notes is almost certainly copied from some other source than the sculpture on Humphrey's tomb. As a casual note of this kind, the device is also shown in the company of, though not part of, some sketches of Humphrey's armorial glass in a window once in Greenwich church, a drawing (pl. xvi c) in the College of Arms MS. L. 14 (p. 105 b) that

¹ *V.C.H. Herts.* ii, 494. Cf. also Mrs. Maude C. Knight's excellent account of the tomb and this badge, *St. Albans & Herts. Archit. & Arch. Soc. Trans.* ii, N.S., 1903-14, p. 81.

² *Sepulchral Monuments of Great Britain*, ii

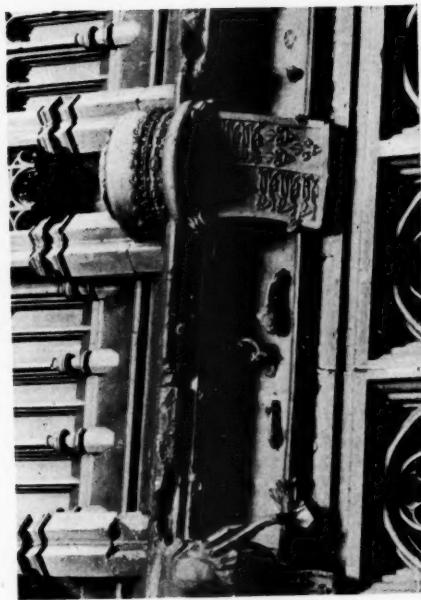
(1796), 142.

³ I have to thank Mr. H. S. London for this information, and for much help in connexion with the College of Arms MSS. mentioned here.

⁴ W. St. J. Hope. *Stall Plates*, 1901, pl. LVIII.



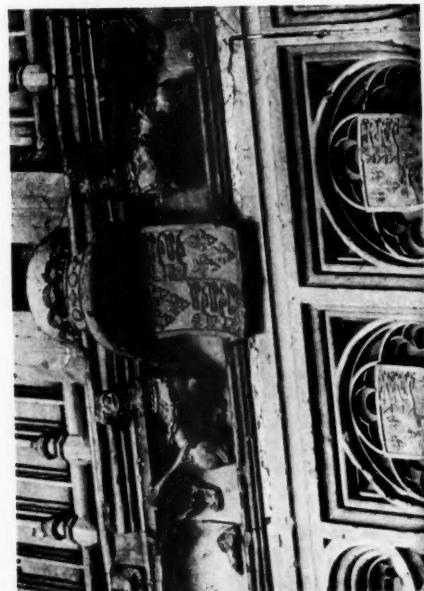
b



d



a



c

Tomb of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, in St. Albans Abbey (details)



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is attributed to Glover (*c.* 1586); it is not a copy of the real badge, but a rationalized memorandum, and it is accompanied by the remark 'Humfrey Duke of Gloucester bare this cup wth a laurell branch in the respect he bore to learninge', and this explanation of the device is repeated without the drawing in Ashmole MS. 1121 in the Bodleian Library. The Heralds of the sixteenth century, therefore, had recorded the badge, and thought it was a cup containing laurel leaves, and they knew, or guessed, that it had something to do with the duke's learned tastes and interests. It is quite clear they knew it was something different from the flower-vase badge of the Somersets.¹

The superstructure of the tomb was erected during the duke's lifetime when John Stoke was abbot (1440-51),² Whethamstede being then in retirement in the interval between his two terms as abbot. Its adornment and the heraldic display thereon were, we may be sure, the subject of the duke's careful consideration, and the insistent use of the device in question is therefore all the more remarkable. Obviously he attached considerable importance to it and regarded it as something significantly personal. The representations of the badge, which are about 1½ in. in height, on the monument sometimes vary a little, but there is no hesitation about the emphasis on the classical form of the vase, and we have to note that, though there is elsewhere in the scrolls on the tomb admirably naturalistic fruit, leaves, and flowers, in the carving of the badge the plants were deliberately conventionalized; in fact they bear some relation to the non-committal pine-apple decoration at the top of the adjacent tomb of John Whethamstede. The badge was plainly intended to be an antique vase containing some unspecified kind of plant.

What then was this most unusual device? We have seen that the Heralds of the late sixteenth century knew vaguely that it had something to do with Humphrey's literary tastes, but they could not name the badge nor explain it. There was, however, an antiquary of the first half of the sixteenth century who really did know what it was, and the purpose of this paper is to repeat his undoubtedly correct identification of it. This man was the celebrated Renaissance scholar, John Leland.

Leland's long hendecasyllabic poem, the *Cygnea Cantio*, was published in 1545. It is one of the group of poems he wrote in those few precious years just before he went mad, when we to-day think he would have been better employed in writing his *Britannia* for which he had collected during his itineraries such an immense and valuable series of notes. It is about a swan that descends the Thames from Oxford to Greenwich and tells us of the sights to be seen on the way. This swan, like Leland, was a fanatical Tudor patriot, and the bird was most of all interested in riparian buildings that reflected glory upon the Tudors; but he was in a hurry to get to Greenwich Palace because that was in his opinion the greatest Tudor glory of all, and it is on his arrival there that the principal song of praise begins. The loyal and delighted bird is amazed by the beauty of Henry the Eighth's

¹ Cf. College of Arms L. 14, p. 105 and Vincent 172, f. 13; also *Archæologia*, lxxvi, pl. xxii.

² For the tomb see *Registrum Abbatiae Johannis Whethamstede*, Rolls 28, 6, i, p. 470; cf. also *English Chronicle of Reigns of Richard II-Henry VI*,

Camden Soc., pp. 117-18. For the building accounts in B.M. Claudius A. VIII, f. 195, see Kenneth Vickers, *Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester*, London, 1907, p. 439.

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residence. He recalls the history of Greenwich in the time of the Saxons and the Danes, and he then relates that it was Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, who first built a palace here and called it Placentia, his Pleasance. At this point comes the passage (lines 336–44) to which I wish to draw attention:

Sed quum Curia sustulisset illum
Poli fraude, dolisque Sudovolcae
Festas depositus relicta cristas,
Elugens Domini sui ruinam,
Horti tunc perierte Adonidisque,
Quos insignia tanquam amoeniora
Fatalis omine pinxerat fenestris:
Nimirum fragileis sciens honores,
Et rerum instabiles vices novarum:

Here *Curia* is Leland's name for Bury St. Edmunds (see his accompanying *Commentary*, s.v. 'Curia'), and *relicta* refers in all probability not to *Curia* but to the main subject of this part of the poem, *Placentia*, that is to say Greenwich Palace. *Festas cristas* is not easy to translate, but may possibly be a reference to Humphrey's other badge, his Three Plumes¹ (cf. pl. xvi c). The sense of the lines may therefore be rendered thus:

But after Bury St. Edmunds had been the scene of his death
As a result of the mischievous plotting of William de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk,
Abandoned, the Pleasance took down the Duke's proud plumes,
Mourning the ruin of its lord;
Then the Gardens of Adonis faded and died,
The badges that, as though they had been propitious emblems,
Humphrey had displayed in his stained glass windows, a fatal omen,
For he knew that honours are indeed transitory,
And politics beyond all reckoning.

Leland therefore was aware that Humphrey had a badge called the Garden of Adonis that was an emblem of mortality or the insecurity of human affairs, and that this badge had been used in the armorial glass of the palace (or conceivably in glass given by the duke to Bury St. Edmunds). I have not the slightest doubt that this was also the badge, a kind of *Memento Mori*, that is now to be seen carved on his tomb at St. Albans.

There is a considerable literature, ancient and modern,² about the classical Gardens of Adonis (pl. xvi b). They were small pottery vases, or broken pots, filled with earth in which quick-growing plants (wheat, lettuce, fennel, etc.) were sown. Their planting was part of the Adonis ceremonies, and it was customary for them to be attended to by women for the period during which they flourished in luxuriance, and afterwards, as they began to fade, they were carried away with

¹ Of Montacute, when it became Sir Thomas Wyat's property, Leland says *suis coepit paullatim expandere cristas*, suggesting the more general sense of new decoration and gayer appearance. *Naenia in mortem Thomae Viatii* (*Itinerary*, 3rd ed., 1769, ii).

² Pauly-Wissowa, vii, pt. i, p. 807; Frazer, *Golden Bough*, 'Adonis, Attis, Osiris'; Raoul Rochette, *Rev. Arch.* viii (1851), 97. The illustration here, a vase in Karlsruhe, is taken from Ludwig Deubner, *Attische Feste*, Berlin, 1932, pl. 25, 1.



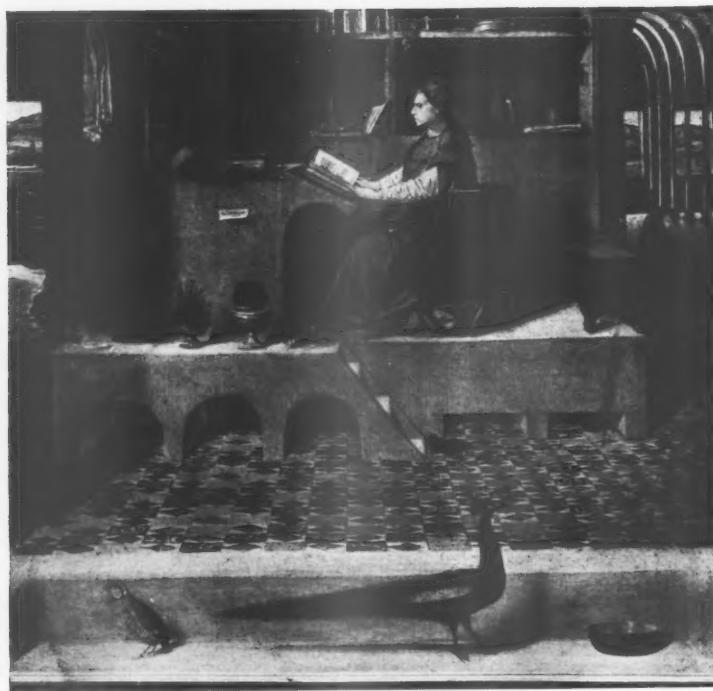
a. College of Arms 'Garter Stalls' MS., f. 1 (detail)



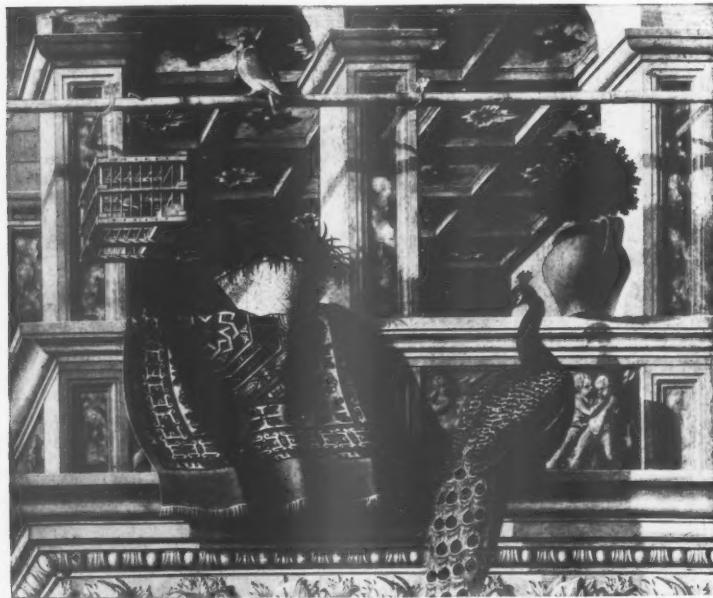
b. Vase in Karlsruhe (after Deubner)



c. College of Arms MS. L. 14, p. 105 b (detail)



a. Antonello da Messina, St. Jerome in his Study (detail). *National Gallery*



b. Carlo Crivelli, The Annunciation (detail). *National Gallery*

images of the dead god thrown into the sea or into springs. They are frequently mentioned by Greek writers, and the *Kῆποι Ἀδώνιδες* eventually acquired a proverbial significance, representing something that grew rapidly into beauty, but was destined as rapidly to fade and die. The memory of them survived. In the *Symposium* of Julian the Apostate (fourth century A.D.) the question is asked 'What do you mean by Gardens of Adonis?', and the answer is: 'Those that women plant in pots in honour of the lover of Aphrodite by scraping together a little earth for a garden bed. They bloom for a little space and fade forthwith.'¹ St. Jerome mentions them in his *Commentary on Isaiah* and likens them to transitory pleasures and mundane pomp.² This is their primary proverbial sense, that of the *Memento Mori*, and it is in this sense that they were rediscovered by early Renaissance scholars. They were thus known to Erasmus (c. 1500), who in his *Adagia* likens these fast-growing fast-fading gardens to the brief life and fleeting enjoyments of man.³ They were known in the same sense to Lily Giraldus⁴ (c. 1512), and a little later, as we have seen, to Leland.⁵

I have not found any literary evidence that proves they were thus known to the fifteenth-century humanists, but it is very difficult to believe that the 'still life' details (pl. xvii a) in Antonello da Messina's 'St. Jerome in his Study' (c. 1475) in the National Gallery do not include with deliberate intention a Garden of Adonis contrasted with the enduring bay-tree in a similar vase. It is, of course, probable that the point of this contrast between the pot of delicate flowers and plants and the pot containing the tough evergreen may quickly have lost its significance, so that the two became just conventional incidental decoration; one would hesitate, for instance, to recognize an authentic and comprehended Garden of Adonis in the still-life details (pl. xvii b) of Crivelli's 'Annunciation', a National Gallery picture of about the same date as the 'St. Jerome'; but the painting by da Messina seems to me to come very near to actually proving that an Italian Renaissance scholar in the second half of the fifteenth century would know a Garden of Adonis when he saw one and would understand its gloomy proverbial significance. Humphrey's connexion with Italy and Italian learning is such that, though at a somewhat earlier date, this knowledge must have been also accessible to him either directly, or indirectly, through Renaissance scholars in England.

The Garden of Adonis eventually had a secondary significance. Neither Erasmus nor Lily Giraldus quoted Pliny's reference, in which he says 'nothing was admired in antiquity more than the Gardens of Hesperides and those of King Adonis and Alcinous'.⁶ When this became known, the sense of the *Memento Mori* was superseded by that of a Paradise or of the Gardens of the Blessed. In this sense Gardens of Adonis were known in Leland's lifetime to Charles Estienne⁷ and to Reinhard Lorich,⁸ and in this sense they were later known to Spenser,⁹ Shakespeare, and

¹ Loeb Library trans., ii, 399.

above, cf. Leland, *Collectanea*, ed. 1770, iv, 131.

² Migne, xxiv, iv, 774 (*Comm. Isaiah* xviii, cap. lxv, v. 3).

⁶ Pliny, *N.H.*, xix, 4, 19.

³ *Adagia*, i, iv.

⁷ *De Re Hortensi Libellus*, Paris, 1535, pp. 8-9.

⁴ *Hist. de Deis Gentium*, op. ed., 1696, i, col.

⁸ Scholia in *Aphthonii Sophistae progymnasmata*,

412 C-D.

1546.

⁵ In addition to the *Cygnea Cantio* passage

⁹ *F.Q.* iii, vi, 29; cf. J. W. Bennett, *M.L.A.*

xlvii (1932), 46 ff.

Milton.¹ The significant change in meaning is illustrated in *Henry VI, Part I*, in the praise given to Joan of Arc for the brilliance and speed of her achievement:

How shall I honour thee for this success?
Thy promises are like Adonis' Gardens
That one day bloomed and fruitful were the next.²

It is a passage that Humphrey would not have understood, and it perhaps explains why in their day the Heralds of the age of Shakespeare and Milton did not understand Humphrey's fifteenth-century badge.

The main interest of this charming and melancholy emblem on an English fifteenth-century tomb must for the present remain unsolved. It is not known how Humphrey came to choose this badge. He was not scholar enough to discover it for himself, and he may therefore have learnt of it from the Italian humanists with whom he was associated, for instance Del Monte and Frulovisi. On the whole, however, it is more probable that he chose the badge in consultation with his learned and beloved friend, Abbot John Whethamstede of St. Albans, a man deeply interested in the classics, a book-collector, an omnivorous reader, and an author of indexes (e.g. the now fragmentary *Granarium*) to classical life and thought,³ a man, moreover, who certainly paid close attention to the symbolic carvings on his own tomb so near to that of Humphrey. Whatever the explanation may be, Leland, who knew the stained glass in Greenwich Palace, or wherever it was, and knew the name and meaning of Humphrey's badge depicted thereon, has preserved for us a tiny fact that most strangely and satisfactorily adds to our regard for the great English patron of letters in the fifteenth century, a trivial piece of information that may be even said to soften with an unexpected personal graciousness the somewhat austere records of the early Renaissance in England.

I have to thank Dr. Thicknesse, the Dean of St. Albans, for permission to take the photographs here published on pls. xv and xv. I am also indebted to the College of Arms for permission to take photographs, pl. xvi *a*, *c*, of manuscripts in the possession of the college, and I have to thank the Trustees of the National Gallery for permission to publish the photographs pl. xvii.

¹ *Paradise Lost*, ix, 440.

² *i Henry VI*, i, vi.

³ For Whethamstede's scholarship see R. Weiss, *Humanism in England during the 15th Century*,

Oxford, 1941, pp. 30-8. When I was writing this paper most of Whethamstede's surviving writings were not available for study.

ON SOME ITALIAN RENAISSANCE CASKETS WITH *PASTIGLIA* DECORATION

By W. L. HILDBURGH, F.S.A.

THE minor arts of the Renaissance in Italy included the ornamentation of small wooden boxes with reliefs moulded in a plastic material which was applied while yielding and hardened subsequently to the firmness of a soft stone.¹ Although persons of a romantic turn of mind like to call such boxes 'jewel-caskets', it would seem more probable that they were made for the use of persons of moderate means, as substitutes for the caskets of precious materials such as were used by the rich, to contain trinkets and small oddments rather than gems or jewellery. In the fourteenth century and during a great part of the fifteenth the *pastiglia* covered the whole, or almost the whole, of the outer surface of its wooden foundation, was in most cases modelled smoothly in gentle gradations of relief,² and was painted with colours which accentuated the forms of its comparatively large figures and supplied details of the decoration. In the second half of the fifteenth century, and continuing into the sixteenth, the decoration, in both its figures and its conventionalized ornament, was on a much smaller scale and in much sharper relief, and was applied to a level surface which might itself be a kind of *pastiglia*, either plain or marked all over with a regular repeated pattern.

Concerning the manufacture of caskets of this latter kind, very little seems to have been published.³ Several types of ornamentation appear on them, sufficiently distinct from each other to suggest that several centres (which need not necessarily have been far apart) were involved in their production; but attempts—including this present one—to localize those centres have, so far as I know, had to be based on resemblances in style between the ornamentation on the caskets and that on objects of other kinds, and have remained unsupported by contemporary written evidence. If we may accept as criteria certain analogous minor artistic industries of the Italian Renaissance, producing goods in quantity for people well-to-do rather than very wealthy—such industries as the manufacture of the wooden caskets ornamented with comparatively small plaques of carved bone, of a particular type associative with the Embriachi Family of Venice,⁴ and that of the wafering-

¹ The earliest example, of a small box adorned with applied relief-ornament, which I recall is one in the Cologne Kunstgewerbe Museum, reproduced in H. Kohlhaussen's *Minnekästchen im Mittelalter*, Berlin, 1928, no. 8; its ornament consists of conventionalized foliage and looks to be of about the middle of the thirteenth century, to which period and to the region of the lower Rhine the casket is attributed.

² An exception to this is a casket, about 60 cm. long, attributed to the end of the fourteenth century, formerly in the Spitzer Collection (cf. *La Collection Spitzer*, v, Paris, 1892, section on 'Cof-

frets', pl. 1; *Sale Cat.*, Paris, 1893, no. 2982), ornamented with figures of mounted knights and of other personages, in almost full relief, formed of pâte painted and gilt.

³ Molinier devotes to them a somewhat disparaging paragraph, speaking of them as products of artisans rather than of artists, in the *Histoire générale des arts appliqués à l'industrie*, ii, 64.

⁴ Cf. J. von Schlosser, 'Die Werkstatt der Embriachi in Venedig', in the *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Kaiserhauses*, Vienna, xx (1899), 220 ff.

irons with elaborate stamped decoration, made in the late fifteenth century and during about three-quarters of the sixteenth presumably mainly (if perhaps not exclusively) in Umbria¹—it would seem likely that the making of the paste-ornamented caskets was in the hands of a few families, each of which had, we may suppose, its specially adapted techniques for the composition of plastic material, the manipulation of that material while soft, its enriching after hardening, the construction of the matrices (though the actual cutting of their wood or metal might indeed have been done by someone outside the family workshop), and such other operations as might have been involved in the making of the caskets.²

Wooden chests, of some considerable size, were adorned with stucco in relief, and their manufacture not improbably was related—but in what ways, if at all, I do not know—to that of the caskets with *pastiglia* ornamentation. There is, for example, in the Berlin Schlossmuseum, a chest ornamented with large figures of gilt stucco in relief, attributed to Florence of about 1470;³ in the Milan Castello Sforzesco is another, with conventional ornament of gilded stucco in relief, attributed to Venice of about 1500;⁴ in the Frankfurt a/M Museum one with scroll-work of gilded stucco, attributed to Venice of about 1550;⁵ and—of particular interest to us—in the Victoria and Albert Museum a chest 5 ft. 10 in. long, attributed to upper Italy of the fifteenth century, ornamented in stucco-relief with Roman scenes composed each of a large number of figures relatively small,⁶ although on a scale correspondingly larger than that of the tiny figures appearing in such scenes on caskets of the sort with which we shall hereinafter be concerned. Somewhat earlier ones, attributed to Tuscany of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, ornamented with large-scale stucco-reliefs, are represented by specimens at Leipzig, Berlin, and Copenhagen.⁷ An Italian Renaissance industrial art closely analogous to the manufacture of chests and caskets adorned with reliefs in plastic materials was the making of frames, for pictures or for mirrors, of wood correspondingly enriched.

Of the small *pastiglia*-ornamented caskets, one type is represented by a casket, belonging to the late George Grey Barnard, attributed to Siena of about 1450, decorated with fantastic animals (e.g. long-necked bipeds) in large-leaved foliage edged with lines of little dots; some details of its reliefs have been engraved, and the smooth surfaces of their background have been impressed, along their edges, with a repeated Δ O Δ .⁸ A second type, ornamented in each case with a large

¹ Cf. W. L. Hildburgh, 'Italian Wafering-Irons of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries', in *Proc. Soc. Antiquaries*, 2nd ser., xxvii (1915), 161 ff.

² In *Metropolitan Museum Studies*, iv (1932-3), 55-75, is a paper, by T. O. Mabbott, on 'Pasteprints and Sealprints', concerned with prints in low-relief in plastic materials. The things dealt with in this seem, however, not to have been associated in any way with the production of the *pastiglia*-ornamented caskets.

³ Cf. F. Schottmüller, *Wohnungskultur und Möbel der italienischen Renaissance*, Stuttgart, 1928, fig. 87.

⁴ *Ibid.*, fig. 88.

⁵ *Ibid.*, fig. 85.

⁶ *Ibid.*, fig. 104.

⁷ *Ibid.*, figs. 82, 83, 84.

⁸ Cf. M. Weinberger, *The George Grey Barnard Collection*, New York (Robinson Galleries), 1941, no. 168, with pl. XLVII. W. Bode, in an introductory note to the *Catalogue* of the Grassi Collection (in which the casket was before entering Mr. Barnard's), suggested that its ornamentation, 'very characteristic of Sienese art', may have been 'inspired by similar motives in Northern tapestries'; cf. Weinberger, *loc. cit.*

number of impressions from matrices very small, and sometimes quite tiny, as compared with the surface to be embellished, is divisible roughly into two groups: in one the decoration is completely conventional, while in the other the principal feature is a series of imaginary renderings of scenes from Roman history or mythology. A third type is represented—uniquely, so far as I am aware—by a casket, discussed in some detail *infra*, adorned with symbolizations of the Planets.

With caskets of the first of these types we need not here concern ourselves.

Caskets of the second type are by no means uncommon. A fine specimen of the group with purely conventional decoration is in the Wallace Collection (see pl. xix *a*,¹ illustrating the back); another, closely related to it, was in the Barnard Collection,² and there were two others (nos. 2983 and 2984 of the *Sale Cat.*) in the Spitzer Collection.³ Of the group with Roman scenes, examples are plentiful: besides the one in my own possession (see pl. xviii *a, b*; pl. xxii *a, b*), there is a particularly fine one in the Berlin Schlossmuseum;⁴ another, at one time in the Guido von Rhò Collection, was later in that of Camillo Castiglioni;⁵ two others were in the Barnard Collection;⁶ another is in the British Museum; and many others could be cited. Those of the same group having, instead of Roman scenes, scenes from Classical mythology are less common. A small casket of the kind, with scenes from mythology, formerly belonging to Lady Harcourt and at present (1946) to Mr. Maurice Harris, is shown in pl. xix *b*.⁷

That the two groups are closely interrelated is evidenced by the character and the subjects of the little matrices used for shaping the *pastiglia* reliefs applied to the surfaces which were to be embellished, as well as by the general arrangement of those reliefs. Thus, for example, one of the Spitzer caskets⁸ is of just the same shape as the casket with Roman scenes herewith illustrated in pls. xviii and xxii, and has its front similarly divided by pilasters into three large panels which display, instead of our Roman scenes, only conventional ornament. Again, the small heads enclosed within wreaths, on the Wallace Collection's casket (pl. xix *a*)—whose decoration is wholly conventional in character—are paralleled on a casket (no. 171) of the Barnard Collection by correspondingly small heads within wreaths on the skirting just below the panels of Roman scenes. And the Barnard Collection's caskets nos. 171, 172, 173 all have (or had) *pastiglia*-ornamented bosses, with

¹ Reproduced by courtesy of Mr. J. G. Mann, Keeper of the Wallace Collection.

² Cf. Weinberger, *op. cit.*, pl. xl ix, no. 173.

³ Photographs of both reproduced in the *Sale Cat.* No. 2983 is represented in the large catalogue only by a small line-engraving; no. 2984 is represented in that catalogue by two large photographs, of the front and of the top of the lid.

⁴ Reproduced on a small scale by Schottmüller, *op. cit.*, fig. 157.

⁵ Cf. Mensing's (F. Muller & Cie.'s) illustrated catalogue of the Castiglioni Sale at Amsterdam, 13–15 July 1926, no. 350 (with photographic reproduction).

⁶ Cf. Weinberger, nos. 171, 172.

⁷ Reproduced by courtesy of Mr. Harris. The incidents here depicted are on the back, being 'The Transformation of Daphne' and 'Orpheus Playing to the Beasts'; on the front are 'Pyramus and Thisbe' and 'The Judgment of Paris'. A similarly small casket, with mythological scenes including impressions from some of the matrices used for the casket of pl. xix *b*, in the Spitzer Collection and now in the Louvre Museum, is reproduced (in a line-drawing) as no. 6 of 'Coffrets' and by Molinier, *op. cit.*, p. 82; it is not illustrated in the *Sale Cat.*

⁸ No. 2984 of the *Sale Cat.*; no. 4, of 'Coffrets', in the large catalogue.

knobs on their lids, like the one on the Wallace Collection's casket.¹ The Schlossmuseum's casket is attributed by Schottmüller (*loc. cit.*), to 'about 1450'; the von Rhö-Castiglioni casket was attributed to 'North Italy of the fifteenth century'; the Barnard Collection's nos. 171, 172 are attributed to northern Italy and tentatively dated 1470–90, while no. 173 is similarly dated 'about 1500'; and other caskets of the same sort have been attributed by Georg Swarzenski² to Venice of the fifteenth century.

Of the same general character as the caskets of this type is a casket formerly in the Figdor Collection,³ whose decoration, by means of *pastiglia* impressions from small matrices, is, however, sufficiently different from that on the caskets cited above to suggest that it had not the same origin as those caskets.

Although often referred to as a paste of essentially vegetable origin, the material whereof the applied ornament was formed was in fact composed of a white inorganic substance, extremely fine in texture, mixed with a binder of animal origin. Our Fellow, Dr. H. J. Plenderleith, of the British Museum, who kindly analysed for me good-sized pieces of material taken from a fragmentary casket ornamented with Roman scenes, some tiny pieces from the casket reproduced in pls. xviii, xxii, and some tiny pieces from the casket of our pl. xxi *a*, *b* and pl. xxii *c*, found that the material used for the reliefs on the two caskets with Roman scenes was some form of white lead mixed with a binder presumably largely, if not indeed entirely, yolk of egg and glair⁴ (i.e. white of egg deprived of its stringiness by beating or by squeezing through cloth or a sponge);⁵ and that that used on the casket with the 'Planets' was gesso (the tiny pieces of this removed for analysis did not permit of the precise determination of the nature of the binder).

The material used for the reliefs on caskets of the group characterized by the Roman scenes is very interesting. Where it has been protected from atmospheric action and from frictional wear (as where one impression has been superimposed on another) it is white and possesses a fine-grained surface, showing even better than the normally exposed surfaces how capably it could take and retain sharp impressions. When hardened, it withstands without injury both brushing dry with soft bristles and washing with clear water. Prolonged immersion in clean water sometimes makes it flexible, sometimes merely softens it. Although now, after more than four hundred years of existence, somewhat brittle, it is still reasonably strong even where of meagre thickness. It does not adhere well to the smooth gilded surfaces upon which, as backgrounds, it, in many cases, has been applied, wherefore small pieces of it often have come away and been lost. It adheres better,

¹ Weinberger has already pointed out that the decoration of the lid of no. 173 'proves its origin from the same workshop as Nos. 171 and 172'.

² Cf. his section, on 'Möbel und Holzarbeiten', in G. Lehnert's *Geschichte des Kunstgewerbes*, i, Berlin, 1907, p. 446. He remarks that although caskets of the kind are very often presumed to be of Florentine origin, their style indicates that more probably they are of Venetian.

³ Cf. O. von Falke, in *Sale Cat. Figdor Collection*,

Part I, v, no. 338 with pl. cxxxvii.

⁴ Dr. Plenderleith conducted some experiments with pastes made from white lead mixed with the separable parts of a hen's egg. He found that a mixture including the white alone was useless; one with the yolk alone somewhat better; but one including both yolk and white considerably the most satisfactory.

⁵ Cf. Daniel V. Thompson, Jr., *The Materials of Medieval Painting*, London, 1936, pp. 50 ff.

although by no means perfectly, to impressions made earlier in the ornamenting of a casket. But so strong was it, and so firmly could it adhere to a wooden surface, that we may see it still in place and serving as the bearing-surfaces on the ball-feet of some *pastiglia*-ornamented caskets; e.g. on the feet of the one in the Wallace Collection (pl. xix *a*). Not infrequently touches of colour were added to the little *pastiglia* reliefs. Dr. Plenderleith found traces of wax in the surfaces of *pastiglia* impressions analysed by him, indicating that the polished appearance of the relief-ornamentation of some of the caskets is indeed, as might well be presumed from the complexion of such ornamentation, an effect of wax applied after the impressions had dried.

The use of moulds for producing relief-ornamentation in a material composed mainly of a calcium compound (carbonate [lime, stucco] or sulphate [plaster of gypsum, gesso]) goes back, in Italy, to Classical times; and in Renaissance Italy would appear to have been widespread. Vasari, for example, in the 'Introduction' to his *Lives of the Artists*, published in 1550, describes (§ 72) the contemporary method of using wooden moulds in decorating with stucco.¹ But moulds for delicate work in gesso had by then long been in use in Italy. In his *Life* of Margaritone —painter, sculptor, and architect of Arezzo, working in the second half of the thirteenth century—Vasari tells us (although without mentioning the moulds which one may presume very probably were employed for the repetitionary details) that he prepared a plastic material, compounded of fine gesso mixed with strong glue, in which he made friezes and diadems in relief, and other details in the round.² In his *Libro dell'arte*³ Cennino Cennini, native of a town near Siena, gives instructions on how to prepare, from a plaster made of the fine white alabaster found near Bologna, the gesso, 'soft as silk', used for the grounds of the gilded parts of paintings and for working in delicate relief, on how that *gesso sottile* is to be ground with glue, and on how to mould the mixture of gesso and glue.

The casket belonging to me (see pls. xviii, *a*, *b*, xxii *a*, *b*), about 30 cm. long, was made, as I have already pointed out, in the same workshop as the casket in the Schlossmuseum (cf. n. 4, p. 125, *supra*), from which workshop presumably came also the casket of the Castiglioni Collection (cf. n. 5, p. 125, *supra*) and the two caskets (nos. 171, 172) of the Barnard Collection.⁴ In pl. xviii are reproduced respectively the back and one end of my casket; in pl. xxii *a* a panel of the front; and in pl. xxii *b* the conventional ornamentation at one end of the lid.

Examination of the Roman scenes, as presented on caskets of this sort, discloses: (i) that a scene is composed of impressions, shaped each in a tiny matrix, individually representing persons, animals, plants (including separate parts of trees), arms and

¹ Cf. L. S. Maclehose, *Vasari on Technique*, London, 1907, pp. 170 f.

² In view of the lapse of time involved, Vasari's statement, for which he does not give his authority, must be accepted with reserve.

³ A number of editions of this, as well as translations in several languages, have been printed. An excellent recent edition is that of D. V. Thompson, Jr., the Italian text in *Il libro dell' arte* and an

annotated translation in *The Craftsman's Handbook*, New Haven (Yale University Press), 1932-3.

⁴ Cf. Weinberger, *op. cit.*, pls. XLVIII (giving good views of right end, back, and left end, of no. 171) and XLIX (back of no. 172). No. 173 (on pl. XLIX), which is ornamented with leafy scrolls and rosettes instead of with Roman scenes, is referred, because of the decoration of its lid, to the same workshop.

armour, musical and other instruments, platforms or bases, wheels, etc.;¹ (ii) that these impressions have been set in their places while still plastic, and often with part of one superimposed on part of another (presumably already hardened at least in some degree) so that an effect of depth is produced thereby; (iii) that even when the subjects are identical, no two scenes are precisely alike (compare, for example, pl. xxii *a* with the central panel of pl. xviii *a*), the craftsmen having been guided, seemingly, merely in a general way in their selections of matrices and in their arrangements of the impressions taken from them; (iv) that an impression from a particular matrix may appear more than once in a single representation of a scene; and (v) that the matrices would seem—judging by the crisp delicacy of their impressions—to have been incised in metal.² We have, therefore, in the caskets of this particular kind, a very distinctive form of technique, and—since we find them interconnected by impressions taken from certain of the matrices—one which would appear most probably to have been confined to the workshop (or possibly workshops) of a single family.

The roots of ornamentation moulded in a calcium compound went so deep in Italian art that we can hardly hope to gain help through it in localizing the place of origin of the caskets with the applied *pastiglia* decoration. On the other hand, since the *pastiglia* of the caskets with the Roman scenes was made with white lead and not with a calcium compound, we might reasonably hope to use that circumstance in localizing the place where those caskets were made. But though it would seem quite possible that records may exist of the decorative employment in Renaissance Italy of plastic materials based on white lead, I have as yet been unable to trace any such.

Although conventional ornamentation produced by combinations, varying in make-up, of a number of separate elements individually small is commonplace, it is by no means common for scenes, each containing many participants and accessory objects, to be composed of small elements.³ Furthermore, in the utiliza-

¹ The floor whereon the figures are represented to be standing was formed in sections comparatively large, supplementary details being shaped in their own matrices and laid on as desired. The columns between the scenes, and the ornamental borders beneath and over them, similarly were made in sections.

² The nature of the plastic material, and the way in which the impressions were applied, make full certainty in the matter somewhat difficult. I believe that it might have been feasible to make matrices of almost equal delicacy in a fine-grained hardwood such as was used for printing-blocks; but I doubt that in wood such delicacy could have survived for long the treatment to which the matrices must have been exposed. Furthermore, in spite of the distortions caused by the viscosity of the *pastiglia* and by the conditions under which it hardened, the quality of the incisions appears to me such as would be produced in metal rather than in wood; some of

the cutting, indeed, looks as if done with rotating tools, reminding us that Vasari tells us, in his description of contemporary methods of cutting steel dies for medals ('Introduction', § 70), that 'Many artificers have been in the habit however of carving the matrices with wheels, just as intaglio work is done in crystals, jaspers, . . . and other oriental stones; and the work done in this way makes the matrices more sharp' (cf. Maclehose, *op. cit.* 167). Even if metal matrices served, as I surmise, for shaping the figures of the scenes, wooden ones still might have served for the borders and some other ornamental details, which were on a larger scale.

³ It is perhaps not without significance that Arezzo, the ancient Arretium, lay in Tuscany, centrally situated and in close touch with the armaments of the day, since at Arretium there had been made, just before and in the opening years of the Christian era, a type of pottery—the famous



Casket of wood ornamented with pastiglia



a. Casket of wood ornamented with pastiglia in the Wallace Collection



b. Casket of wood ornamented with pastiglia in private possession

tion, for the purpose of shaping such elements, of matrices which would appear to have been cut in metal there may perhaps be found some clue to the workshop in which the caskets with the Roman scenes were made. The matrices for fashioning their little figures, being very skilfully executed, presumably must have been made by a specialist in such work—a seal-cutter or (although I consider less probably) a die-sinker. I am unable, however, to point to the products of any other craftsman sufficiently like those of our matrix-cutter to be closely comparable with them. I have found no seals (or seal-matrices) or stone intaglios (or impressions from such) or coins quite like them; and examination of the extensive series of photographic reproductions given by Hill in his *Corpus*¹ has not shown me any medal which has more than a very general relation, in the style of its ornamentation and the technique in which that ornamentation is carried out, with the little figures of the Roman scenes. As, apart from their technical peculiarities, the Roman scenes on the caskets seem to have a good deal in common with some of those on plaquettes which were produced by the prolific plaquettist who signed 'Moderno'—a craftsman of upper Italy, of the last decade of the fifteenth century and the first of the sixteenth, who is thought to have worked at Padua—an origin in or near Venice would appear reasonably probable for our caskets with Roman scenes.

Little need be said here concerning the Wallace Collection's casket, since between the excellent photograph herewith reproduced (pl. xix a), the remarks above (p. 125), and the further remarks below on the presumable relationship between the *pastiglia* impressions on it and the punches employed for decorating certain wafering-irons, most of its features of interest to us are dealt with. Attention may be directed, nevertheless, to the two small armorial shields (unfortunately now blank), of a shape attributable to about the end of the fifteenth century, one at either end of the lid, and to the embellishment of some of the *pastiglia* impressions by the insertion (e.g. at the centres of some of the large blossoms) of tiny pieces of a red translucent substance (? glass)—an embellishment paralleled on the Barnard Collection's no. 173 (cf. p. 125 f., *supra*) by 'a red spot in the centre of each rosette' on the front and back of that casket. It should be noted, furthermore, that the *pastiglia* ornamentation of the casket's feet, extending round below their wood cores and serving as the actual bearing-surfaces, is in practically perfect condition.

The gilt grounds for the *pastiglia* reliefs would appear to have been prepared just as were the gilded areas in Italian paintings of the time. Dr. Plenderleith's

Arretine ware—based on an application of that latter principle (for an exhaustive account of that ware, see Christine Alexander, *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum*, Metropolitan Museum of Art fascicule 1 [U.S.A. fascicule 9], *Arretine Relief Ware*, Cambridge [Mass.], 1943). The bowls of Arretine ware, ornamented outside with scenes in relief, were spun on the wheel into moulds, made of baked clay, whose interiors bore in intaglio the scenes which were to appear on the completed bowls; and those intaglios had been produced by impressing the clay of the moulds, while plastic, with a number of stamps, each covering a single detail of the scene,

which could be combined according to the inclination of the mould-maker. The manner of making the Arretine moulds must have been obvious to craftsmen of the Italian Renaissance, wherefore it would seem by no means improbable that the revival of the interest in Roman antiquity which inspired the depiction of Roman scenes in *pastiglia* may also have inspired the craftsman who produced those scenes to adopt for their production a Roman technique modified to suit the conditions of his task.

¹ G. F. Hill, *Corpus of Italian Medals of the Renaissance before Cellini*, London, 1930.

analysis of scrapings from the ground on the fragmentary casket which provided the materials for our experiments, supplementing visual examination of the casket itself, indicated that *gesso sottile* was laid on the wood and covered thinly with a red bole (presumably Armenian bole) to which the gold was applied. Like the corresponding grounds in the paintings, these grounds are marked all over with impressed ornament; on the casket of pls. xviii *a*, *b* and xxii *a*, *b*, for example, one ground-design consists of a diaper of lines of minute dots with a much larger dot in the centre of each of its squares, and another of a scale-pattern formed of minute dots and having a larger dot enclosed in each of its elements; and on the casket of pl. xix *a* there is a pattern of simple impressions made with the rounded end of a small implement.¹

I have pointed out above that the *pastiglia* impressions were set in position while still flexible. One may presume that the craftsman, having prepared in his matrices the impressions wherewith he purposed constituting his scene, attached them to their grounds while they were still sufficiently moist to be both flexible and adhesive. Almost certainly the tiny matrices were not each a separate implement, of the type used for, e.g. cutting shapes from a sheet of pastry. It seems reasonable to presume that a number of them were grouped in the polished surface of a block of metal, and that the craftsman pressed his material into only such of them as would yield him the shapes he wished to use, and then removed any excess material which had spread, thin as paper, beyond the edges of his matrices. Such a procedure might well have been suggested by the wafering-irons then in use, seemingly fairly commonly, in just those regions of Italy with which what little evidence we have would appear to associate the caskets carrying the Roman scenes. By means of those wafering-irons thin cakes, bearing in relief impressions of designs sunk in their plates, were made; and if it so chanced that they had been closed too tightly, or if insufficient batter had been supplied, impressions edged with dry material so thin that it could be cleanly broken away from them might have been produced.

The manufacture on an extensive scale of such wafering-irons would seem to have developed, in the last quarter of the fifteenth century, presumably in Umbria and very probably at Perugia. The components of the designs on a large proportion of them indicate that many of them must have been made in the same workshop, even though the heraldry added to them covers a number of other regions of Italy.² The impressions on the irons from the workshop referred to were made by the use of small punches (comparable with bookbinders' stamps, which by then had long been employed) bearing each, in low relief, a single figure, approximately the same size as the Roman figures on the caskets, or a single detail of the ornament. The impressions from the punches were combined, in a manner analogous to that in which separate *pastiglia* impressions were combined on the caskets, so as to produce a harmonious decoration (on the irons conventional in form, not scenic) over a surface large as compared with a single impression. I cannot say how early punches of the kind were employed, but it is certain that in 1495 Francesco

¹ For methods and tools employed in preparing grounds of this kind, see Thompson, *The Craftsman's Handbook* and *The Materials of Medieval*

Painting.

² Cf. Hildburgh, *op. cit.* 171 ff.

di Valeriano ('Rossiectus', 'Il Roschetto'), a highly skilled goldsmith of Foligno who had been engaged at the Perugia Mint from 1474, was working with them. There is much reason to believe, from the evidence derivable from Perugian wafering-irons, that he had some considerable part in their development, during the last quarter of the fifteenth century, out of the rude blacksmiths' punches previously employed for stamping wafer-plates.¹

But while the workshop whence issued so many of the Italian irons with stamped ornament would appear to have been situated in Umbria, that workshop looks to have had, just about 1500 (i.e. the period to which the caskets with the Roman scenes have reasonably been assigned), a connexion—as indicated by the occurrence on irons it produced of the arms of a number of families of, or closely associated with, Venice—of some kind with Venetia.² What brought about that connexion, I do not know; conceivably some Venetian craftsman, settling at Perugia (possibly to work in its Mint), may have kept in touch with former colleagues in Venice; or perhaps some member of the family which stamped the wafer-plates may have gone to Venice for a time. However that may have been, there were stamped wafering-irons of the kind in Venice of about 1500, and through them might have been suggested matrices of metal for making the minute reliefs used on the caskets.

Although the technique employed in the making of the matrices for the *pastiglia* ornamentation differs fundamentally from that for making the matrices in the wafering-irons, in that the former were engraved in intaglio while the latter were impressed through applications of punches sculptured in relief,³ the scale of the figures in the Roman scenes is approximately the same as that of the figures (e.g. putti, or cupids) on the wafer-plates; and such caskets as the one in the Wallace Collection (pl. xix *a*) and the Barnard Collection's no. 173 (cf. n. 2, p. 125, and n. 1, p. 126)—which certainly would seem to have been made in the same workshop(s) as the caskets with the Roman scenes—display such close resemblances in details to certain of the Umbrian wafering-irons as to make reasonably sure that there must have been more than a casual relationship between the cutters of the matrices for the *pastiglia* and the cutters of the punches for the irons. The small heads within wreaths to be seen on the front, the back, and one end of the Wallace Collection's casket are paralleled precisely on such plates as those reproduced in pl. xx, the smaller from a workshop presumably Umbrian of about the first quarter of the sixteenth century,⁴ the larger made about the middle of the sixteenth century. On the smaller plate the heads are within wreaths held by mermaids whose tails end each in a flower, corresponding closely to the winged women with tails ending

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 167 f., 165.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 171 ff.

³ It is perhaps worth mentioning, as possibly having some bearing on the question of a relationship between the makers of the Umbrian wafer-plates and the engravers of the matrices for the minute *pastiglia*-reliefs, that a 'cassa . . . decorata [in *pastiglia*] con istorie di guerrieri, lavorate in assai belle figure', belonging to the Congregazione di Carità of Perugia, is recorded as an exhibit, in

M. Labò's *La mostra di antica arte umbra a Perugia*—1907, Turin, 1907, p. 32.

⁴ The pair of plates is reproduced on a small scale, and described and related to the plates of other wafering-irons, in my paper on 'Italian Wafering-Irons . . .', fig. 6 (nos. 20 *a* and 20 *b*) and p. 188. In the British Museum is a pair of irons, closely similar to this pair, with the arms of the Venetian family of Loredano.

in a like way on Spitzer Collection's casket no. 2984. On the larger plate the heads are enclosed in circles formed each of tiny rings tangent to each other. Analogous ornamentation including human heads, in circles formed of cord-like or wave-like patterns, or surrounded by dolphins, may be seen on a quite considerable number of wafer-plates of the end of the fifteenth century or the early sixteenth. Again, the guilloche pattern in the two bands round the receptacle of the Wallace Collection's casket (pl. xix *a*) and around the underedge of its lid, are very closely paralleled on such wafer-plates as the one reproduced in pl. xx *a* and a number of others which could be cited. And the cornucopiae and the vases to be seen on the caskets are virtually the same as those occurring quite commonly on the irons. I think the parallels between the *pastiglia* relief-decoration of the caskets and the impressed ornament of the wafering-irons is rather closer than is to be accounted for by a general style which happened to be in favour at the moment.

It should, nevertheless, be recalled that that general style was conformed to, likewise, by contemporary makers of bronze objects—such things as mortars, bowls, caskets, and table-bells—intended primarily for practical usage rather than for ornament. And for the ornamentation of the things they made¹ they employed a process even more closely related to that used in the production of the *pastiglia*-ornamented caskets than was the one employed by the decorators of the Umbrian wafering-irons. In that process a waxen model, with a smooth plain surface, was prepared and upon its surface there were laid, in such patterns as might suit the craftsman, waxen impressions from matrices, and the whole composition was then cast in bronze by the 'lost wax' method.² In some few instances the bronze relief-ornament so obtained has a crispness which suggests that the waxen impressions might have been made in metal matrices, but in most cases the bronze has been unable to reproduce any exceptional sharpness possibly present in the wax original, and we consequently are left in doubt. In other cases the height of the relief, above the general level of the surface, indicates pretty certainly that the waxen embellishment was shaped in matrices of wood. It is interesting to find occasionally, although indeed rather rarely, on the bronzes scenes which clearly were built up, in wax, just as were the scenes in *pastiglia* on our caskets. I know of a bronze mortar ornamented with Roman scenes, each built up of figures shaped in a few small matrices, separated from each other by pilasters, similarly produced in matrices, analogous to those which on the caskets divide the Roman scenes from each other. What relationships, if there were indeed any of more than a very general nature, may have subsisted between the makers of the matrices employed in the decorating of bronze vessels and the makers of those for shaping *pastiglia*, I do not know. Yet even could I say, my knowledge probably would help us but little in localizing the industry of our caskets, for as yet, excepting possibly in a very few cases, we do not know precisely where the bronze objects citable for comparison were made.

From what little evidence in the matter that we possess, unfortunately all of it circumstantial, I am inclined to agree with Swarzenski (cf. n. 2, p. 126, *supra*) and

¹ For some typical examples (of which many more could readily be cited), cf. W. Bode and Murray Marks, *The Italian Bronze Statuettes of the Renaissance*, ii, London, 1908, pls. CXX-CXXXI.

² Cf. *ibid.*, Text, p. 13.



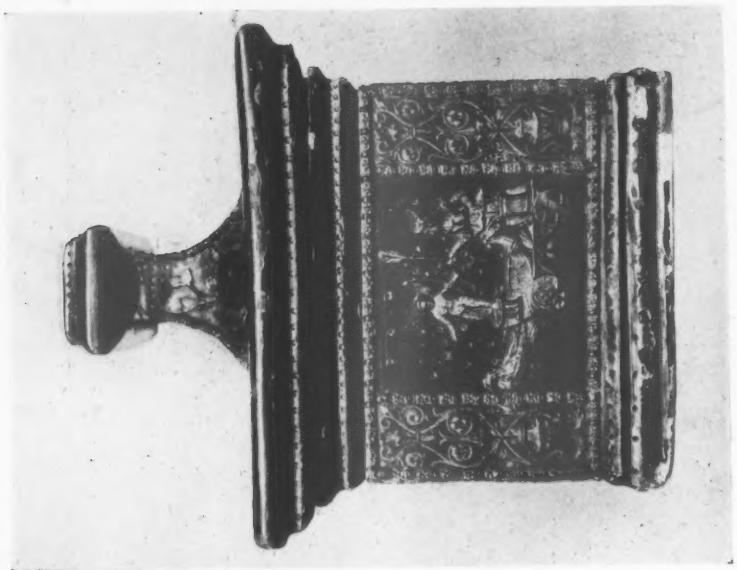
Plates of wafering-irons

a. About middle of sixteenth century

b. About first quarter of sixteenth century

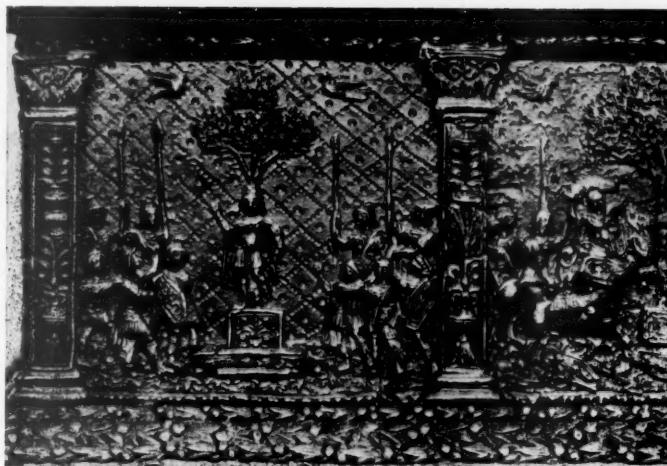


Front



Right end

Casket of wood ornamented with pastiglia



a. From end of casket of pl. XVIII



b. From lid of casket of pl. XVIII



c. From back of casket of pl. XXI

Details of caskets of wood ornamented with pastiglia



a. Casket of wood ornamented with pastiglia. Back



b. Casket of wood ornamented with pastiglia. Front



c. From lid of casket b



d. From lid of casket a

Weinberger (*op. cit.*) in attributing tentatively to Venice of the second half of the fifteenth century (or in some cases possibly the beginning of the sixteenth), the caskets adorned with Roman scenes in *pastiglia*-relief.

The casket (L. 24·2, D. 18·5, H. 23 cm.) reproduced in pls. XXI *a*, *b* and XXII *c*, representing the third of the types to which I referred above (p. 125), is, so far as I know, not alone unique, but also is in type of ornament unrelated to any other casket of which I have seen a record. The plastic material used on this casket consists of an extremely finely grained gesso (*gesso sottile*) mixed with a binder whose precise nature was not determinable from the tiny fragments taken for examination, but which we may well presume to have been either gelatine (as in the *pastiglia* used by Cennino Cennini; cf. p. 127, *supra*) or egg-substance (as used with the white lead). Although examination of the relief-ornament under ultra-violet light did not show much variation from the examination of the caskets with the Roman scenes—presumably because the waxing and/or the painting tends to mask effects perhaps obtainable from clean *pastiglia*—the ultra-violet illumination did, however, disclose a restoration, visible also in ordinary light, of part of the figure of Saturn, below his waist.¹ The principal feature of the casket's ornamentation is a series of groups composed of figures comparatively large, instead of tiny as in our Roman scenes, while its conventional elements, although conforming to the same general style as that of the caskets of our second type—but to that of the casket in the Wallace Collection rather than to that of the caskets with Roman scenes—departs sufficiently from that style to suggest that the casket was not made in a workshop producing caskets of the second type. That suggestion is borne out by the nature of the basis of its *pastiglia*. I feel that just as the character of the ornamentation of caskets of the second type seems to relate them to the wafering-irons rather than to the bronze objects above referred to, so with the present casket the reverse is the case.

The subjects represented in the six spaces (i.e. the two sides and the two ends of the receptacle and the two long sides of the lid) sufficiently large to accommodate the groups are deifications of six of the Seven Planets which followers of astrology believed to control human destinies, each on a four-wheeled car whose two visible wheels are ornamented with zodiacal signs, drawn by two creatures appropriate to the divinity. On the front of the box (pl. XXI *a*) is Diana, representing the Moon, on a car whose wheels display Leo and Cancer, being drawn by two young women; on its right end (pl. XXI *b*) is Venus, Taurus and Libra on the wheels of her car, drawn by two doves; on its back (detail in pl. XXII *c*) is Mercury, Virgo and Gemini on his wheels, drawn by two crested birds (? phoenixes); and on its left end is Mars, Aries and Scorpio on his wheels, drawn by two horses. On the front of the lid is Saturn, Capricornus and Aquarius on his wheels, drawn by two dragon-like beasts with serpentine tails; on its back is Jupiter, Sagittarius and Pisces on his wheels,

¹ There are in the ornamentation of the casket shown in pls. XVIII *a*, *b* and XXII, *a*, *b* a number of restorations clearly distinguishable, by the quality of their reliefs, from the original portions of the ornamentation. The material of some of these appears,

under ultra-violet light, to be like that of the original ornamentation, but that of others appears to be different, thus suggesting that the casket has suffered restorations on more than one occasion.

drawn by two eagles; and on each end, too narrow to take a personified divinity, is a withered tree-trunk on which hangs a shield heraldically decorated—in heraldic terminology 'a shield of pointed almond shape, suspended from the top of a tree eradicated, with azure a bend gules between in chief a bird (? eagle) volant, and in base, issuant in pale from the bend the pointed extremity of a dart or of a spear, both or'. So exceptional are these arms that I am unable to suggest any family or any place which they might represent. But so appropriate to the Sun do they appear to me, that I am strongly inclined to think that by them that luminary is represented in a *personal* form comparable with the anthropomorphized representatives of his six companion Planets. The soaring eagle served often as the Sun's emblem, the dart pointing downward might well have symbolized his rays, gold was his own special colour, blue that of the sky from which he shone, and red conceivably a token of the heat he gave forth. Had the Sun been represented realistically, e.g. by a circle (possibly one enclosing a human face) surrounded by rays, his representation would have been not merely out of keeping with the figures of his companions but also ill-adapted to the spaces now filled so admirably by the heraldic devices.

The treatment of the *pastiglia* on this casket differs very considerably from that applied in the case of the Roman scenes. I am undecided whether the groups were shaped entirely by the use of matrices or whether they were in part moulded free-hand. Nevertheless two matters seem clear: (1) that the matrices employed were large as compared with those in composing the Roman scenes; and (2) that those matrices probably were of wood (though conceivably in some cases of a hardened plastic material), and pretty certainly were not cut in metal. The large decorative panels—on the box one on either side of each group, and on the lid one at each corner—were impressed as units (cf. n. 1, p. 128, *supra*) and not by employing in turn a number of small matrices whose impressions could be combined as the craftsman willed; they have an appearance of having been impressed in *pastiglia* previously laid plain on the surface to be ornamented, rather than of having been made, as were the components of the Roman scenes, apart from the casket and then transferred to it. The figures of the divinities, and their accessories (animate and inanimate), look to have been moulded mainly through the use of matrices, but there are also areas which have some appearance of having been shaped at least in part by hand before the paste had hardened. For the tree-trunk and its shield of arms a single matrix sufficed. The slender borders and dividing-lines, composed of a succession of tiny flowers separated from each other by narrow mouldings (see pl. XXII c) were shaped in wooden matrices. The Planets are in white, in part gilded, against a red background; the colours of the heraldic shield are given in its description *supra*; the colours of the large panels of conventional ornament, both on the box and on the lid, are white and gold against darkish grey. There is a repeated pattern, all over the red backgrounds of the Planets, consisting of a line of little bowl-shaped hollows alternating with a triad of minute dots followed by a second line of eight-pointed stars similarly alternating with a like triad of minute dots.

Our groups of car-borne Planets with their attendants—perhaps descending from designs made in the first place for some Italian festal procession—are closely

associable with a well-known series of seven engravings, astrological in inspiration, produced in Florence presumably between 1460 and 1465.¹ Each engraving of this series displays, in its sky and on a large scale, just such a group as is on our casket, while below are people engaged in the activities with which the particular planet depicted was believed to be most intimately concerned. Copied from this series was a second series, very closely resembling it, presumably also Florentine and probably not much later in date.² Although in these two Florentine series the general lines of the representations of the divinities are the same as on our casket, the creatures drawing the cars are in most cases the same, and the cars are alike in having wheels whereon appear the Signs of the Zodiac, there are sufficient differences between the groups on the casket and those in the engravings³ to imply that the maker of the casket was not immediately inspired by the engravings.

Influenced by the Florentine engravings, a Venetian wood-engraver produced, presumably in the last decade of the fifteenth century, a series closely similar, three prints from which—the ‘Jupiter’, the ‘Mars’, and the ‘Luna’—were, when Lippmann wrote, in the Malaspina Collection at Pavia.⁴ Only of the ‘Jupiter’ of this series have I been able to examine a reproduction; i.e. the one given by Lippmann, *loc. cit.* Just as there are differences between the Jupiter group on our casket and the Jupiter groups in the Florentine engravings, so there are differences between it and the Jupiter group in the woodcut. But those differences are in the latter case so much less than in the former, while between the casket’s group and the woodcut’s there are some odd minor parallelisms which can hardly be purely accidental,⁵ that I think we must regard the casket’s group as considerably closer to that of the Venetian woodcut than to the groups of the Florentine engravings. Naturally, that should not be taken to mean necessarily that the casket was made by someone in fairly intimate touch with the wood-engraver (be it remembered that woodcuts

¹ Reproduced by F. Lippmann, *The Seven Planets*, International Chalcographical Society, 1895; A. M. Hind, *Early Florentine Engraving*, London, 1938, ii, pls. 114, 116, 118–26, with relevant text in i, 77 ff.

² Cf. Lippmann, *op. cit.*; and Hind, *op. cit.*, pls. 115, 117, 119–28.

³ One difference, resulting from the need to apportion in the engravings twelve signs among seven planets while on the casket each planet could take two signs, is that in the engravings the car of Diana, who represents the Moon, and that of Apollo, who represents the Sun, are two-wheeled, instead of four-wheeled as are all the cars on the casket. There are other differences in the attitudes of the principal figures, in the attributes of those figures and in the fittings of the vehicles, in the natures of some of the creatures pulling the cars (e.g. in the engravings Mercury’s resemble hawks rather than the crested birds of the casket), and in the attitudes and the orientations of some of the zodiacal signs.

⁴ Cf. Lippmann, 4 f.

⁵ e.g. Jupiter himself is much the same on the casket and in the woodcut, although on the former he holds an arrow in his right hand instead of the long rod-like sceptre in the left hand (as in the earlier Florentine series; in the later, this is replaced by an arrow) shown in the latter. On the casket his throne, with back arched at the top, is of the same type as in the woodcut, but quite different from the thrones in the engravings. Both on the casket and in the woodcut Ganymede holds only a basin, whereas in the engravings he holds a ewer in addition; it should be observed, however, that while on the casket he kneels on both knees, in all the three other cases he is on one only. On the casket and in the woodcut Sagittarius shoots in the direction—the same in both—in which he runs; in the engravings he runs the opposite way and has his body turned so that he may shoot backwards. The pair of fishes constituting Pisces have the same arrangement on the casket and in the woodcut, but are arranged in the opposite way in the engravings.

could travel easily and far), nor even that the maker of the casket had seen the woodcut. But it is at least strongly suggestive of some sort of localized association between the producer of the woodcuts and the maker of the casket. It would seem conceivable, indeed, that that association may have been a fairly close one, for the several analogies between the materials and the techniques of the engravers on wood and those of the cutters of the matrices for the moulders of delicate *pastiglia* ornamentation suggest the possibility that *pastiglia*-workers may in fact have gone to wood-engravers for their matrices.

The conventional ornament filling the upright oblongs on the ends of our casket is in style very like Venetian ornament of about the end of the fifteenth century;¹ so markedly that, even allowing for the appearance of very similar ornament in other regions of Italy of the time, an origin in, or under the direct influence of, Venice is strongly suggested for the casket. The analogies between the casket's Jupiter and the Jupiter of the Venetian woodcut also point, although not quite so conclusively as one could wish, to such an origin. While it might be possible to make out a plausible case for an Umbrian origin, based on Perugino's paintings of the Seven Planets in the vaulting of the Audience Hall of the Collegio del Cambio at Perugia, and on the grotesques (painted in representation of relief) surrounding them;² and perhaps supported by the presumably Umbrian manufacture of the wafering-irons cited above, I think that the groups in those paintings differ from those on our casket in too many respects for us to assume any close connexion between them, and that although the grotesques much resemble grotesques in the *pastiglia*-ornamentation of certain other caskets they are insufficiently like them for us to suspect the existence of any immediate relationship. I conclude, therefore, that it is most reasonable to attribute the present casket, as we have already attributed the caskets whereon the Roman scenes appear, tentatively to Venice, and to believe that it was made in or about the last decade of the fifteenth century.

Supplementary Note

After the text printed above had been set up and the galley proof corrected, two other caskets (see pl. xxxiii), presenting some interesting variations from those therein mentioned, came into my possession. The *pastiglia* of the impressions on both these seems to be like that of the Wallace Collection's casket and the caskets with the Roman scenes; i.e. of white lead with a binder made from eggs. But while similarities between their impressions and those on the caskets illustrated or otherwise referred to above are sufficiently close and adequate to relate the newcomers to the caskets there discussed, enough differences exist to suggest that the former may not have been produced in the workshop or workshops whence came the latter. On neither of the new-comers have I recognized any impression corresponding precisely (and in that way

¹ Compare, for example, the framings, still in their original situations in Venice, of a number of paintings by Giovanni Bellini; reproductions of many such framings may be seen in G. Gronau's *Giovanni Bellini* (in the series 'Klassiker der Kunst', *passim*).

² Good photographs of all these paintings are easily available. The 'Venus' section is reproduced in F. Knapp's *Perugino* (in the series 'Klassiker der

Kunst'), Bielefeld and Leipzig, 1907, fig. 64 (text on p. 88); the 'Luna' section in U. Gnoli's *Pietro Perugino*, Spoleto, 1923, pl. xxviii. Vannucci seems to have been responsible for the designs alone, the actual painting having been done by his pupils; cf. *A History of Painting in Italy*, by J. A. Crowe and G. B. Cavalcaselle, v (edited by T. Borenius), London, 1914, pp. 325 ff., 322.

indicating identity of workshop of manufacture) to an impression on any casket whose reproduction I have been able to examine. I am inclined to think that all the matrices employed for them have been cut in wood and not—as I have suggested above concerning at least some of the matrices employed for certain of the caskets there discussed—in metal.

The casket reproduced in pl. xxiii *a, d* is 20 cm. long, 10·5 cm. high (including the ball-feet), and 12 cm. wide. Back (*a*) and front are alike in design; and the ends (left end reproduced in (*d*) correspondingly are alike. Front, back, ends, and lid are each divisible into halves respectively identical in design excepting that each half is in arrangement the reverse of the other. The impressions on the front and the back represent a vase, two putti, monsters of two sorts, and two winged fauns, and (at the vertical edges of the panel) half of a semi-human creature with dragon-like wings; on the ends are the same two winged fauns, a large rosette, a Medusa-head, and a vase; on the lid, the same Medusa-head, the same winged fauns, and two large winged griffin-like creatures with long S-shaped tails ending each in the large rosette. Paint remains in places on some of the impressions. An exceptional feature of the casket is its backgrounds, which are not gilt but are covered with small sparkling angular grains of several colours, presumably mineral in nature and perhaps including pulverized glass, spread over a red painted ground. As are the feet of several of the caskets referred to above, the casket's feet are ornamented with impressed *pastiglia*.

The dimensions of the casket of pl. xxiii *b, c* are L. 23 cm., H. 9 cm., W. 12·5 cm. Its *pastiglia*, applied on a ground of polished gilt gesso, although still almost intact on the front, the ends, and the lid, has been completely removed from the back. The disposition of the impressions on the front and on the ends is considerably more open than that on the generality of analogous caskets. On the front (*b*) is Orpheus within a leafy wreath; on the right end (*c*) is a male figure (? Apollo) within a circle formed of a long twig; the left end is similar to the right, except that Hercules with the Nemeian Lion replaces the male figure. Ox-skulls serving as vases for floral ornament, dolphins, harpies, and flowers and rosettes, make up the remainder of these designs. On the lid reappear the harpies, the leafy wreath, and the twig-circle; other impressions are of a face with leafy hair and beard, a boy's face, two men's heads in profile, small scallop-shells, conventional foliage, and rosettes. The borders along the edges of the front, the ends, and the lid resemble a cord formed of four interwoven strands.

A HOMESTEAD MOAT AT NUTHAMPSTEAD, HERTFORDSHIRE

By AUDREY WILLIAMS, F.S.A.

A SMALL moated site in Scales Park near the village of Nuthampstead, Hertfordshire (fig. 1), has lately been examined by the Ancient Monuments Department of the Ministry of Works. It lies just within the Hertfordshire-Essex boundary,

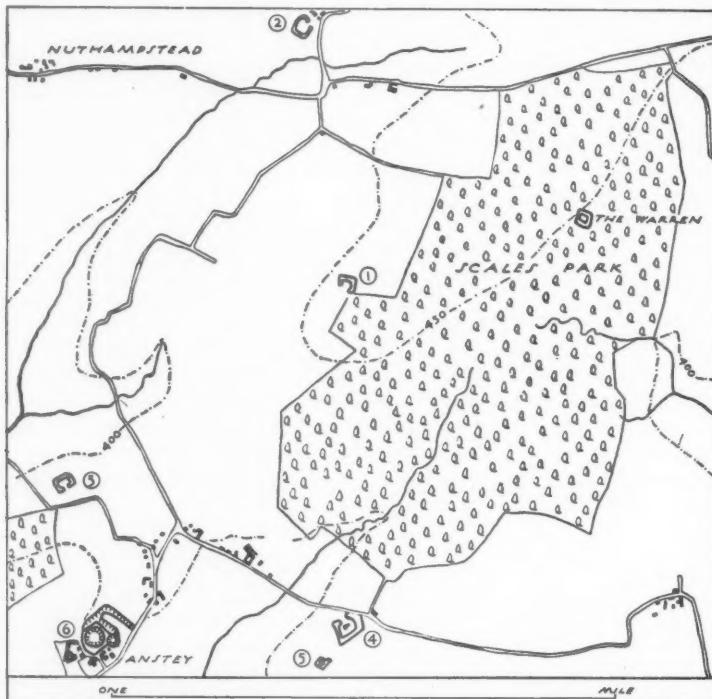


FIG. 1. Sketch-map of Scales Park, near Nuthampstead, Hertfordshire

four miles north-east of Buntingford and eight miles north-west of Bishop's Stortford. On the O.S. 6-in. sheet (Herts. 9 NE.) it is marked as *The Warren*, but not as an antiquity; nor is it included among the 139 homestead moats recorded for the county by the Royal Commission.

Scales Park comprises something over 400 acres of well-grown woodland on the plateau which forms the watershed of the rivers Stort and Quin, both flowing south to join eventually the Thames. Its height above sea-level is 450 ft. on the north-west, declining gently to 400 ft. on the east and south. Geologically the area consists of chalky clay over the chalk.

The moat of the Warren, enclosing an approximately square island about a quarter of an acre in size, varied in width from 10 to 25 ft. and at the time of excavation was filled with black boggy silt. Round its outer edge ran a low much-spread bank, 20 to 30 ft. wide but not more than 2 ft. high. The enclosure presented a puzzling combination of mounds and hollows. A large mound, 9 ft. 6 in. high, on a raised platform occupied the north-eastern half. The south-western half had centrally a similar platform, 5 ft. above the surface of the moat, with flanking mounds, 6 and 7 ft. high, at the corners (pl. xxiv *b*). The cavities between the mounds were practically level with the moat; slight ridges barred the western hollow and the south end of the eastern hollow.

Superficially then the site offered two possibilities. The enclosure might have been heightened with spoil from the moat before the erection of the homestead and then dug into later, the material from the hollows having been piled up to form the present mounds. Alternatively, the work of building up the island had been begun by massing spoil from the moat in the mounds and then abandoned before levelling took place. Colour was lent to this second theory by the convex outline of the mounds and by the fact that two of them occurred at the corners, where naturally a greater amount of material would be available.

Two sections were cut. The first (figs. 2 and 3, *AA'*) ran from the centre bank. The mound, beneath an average 9 in. of top soil, consisted of brown clay with patches of chalk, flint nodules, and blue clay, all heaped indiscriminately on the old surface. The undisturbed surface, sloping throughout the section very slightly from north-east to south-west, was brown or blue clay with the usual concomitants of chalk and flint. The old turf line was imperceptible save for an intermittent darkening of the top of the natural clay. In section the mound was a homogeneous mass with no sign of dual construction such as might be expected if earth from the hollows had at a later date been piled on the platform.

The moat became waterlogged at a depth of 2 ft. 6 in. Its lips, establishing a width of 30 ft., were found beneath clay which had worked down the slopes from the mound and the counterscarp bank. Tests with rods traced the sides of the moat for a few further feet and suggested a V-shaped section with a probable maximum depth of 12 ft. The counterscarp bank had obviously been made like the internal mound with material derived from the moat. It was 5 ft. high. Its width was difficult to ascertain owing to spread, but an inclined band of blue clay seemed to indicate that its inner face rose from the lip of the moat without a berm and that its width would be 30 ft. or thereabouts. It might be argued that this bank resulted from later cleaning of the moat, but the section negatived this in that it showed only material taken from undisturbed ground without admixture of silt. No sign of timber structure in or on the bank having appeared in the section cutting, small areas on either side were stripped of top soil that the clay might be examined for post-holes. None was found.

Reverting to the enclosure, a short trial trench was dug in the hollow between the north-east and south mounds on the line of the profile *AA''* shown on the plan. Natural clay appeared at a level consistent with its position in cutting *AA'*. Its only covering here was 18 in. of humus, the top 6 in. slimy like the filling of the moat

THE WARREN NUTHAMPSTEAD
HERTFORDSHIRE.

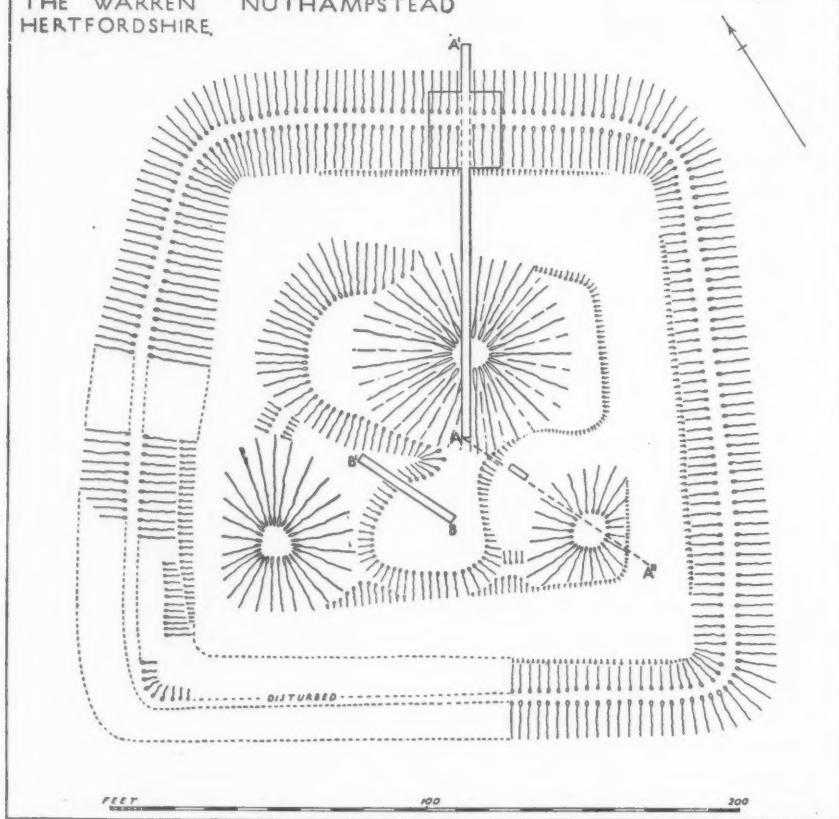


FIG. 2. Plan of the Warren, Nuthampstead, Hertfordshire

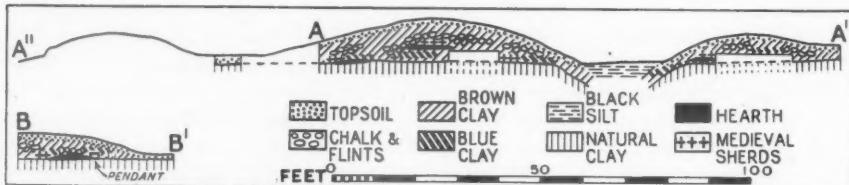


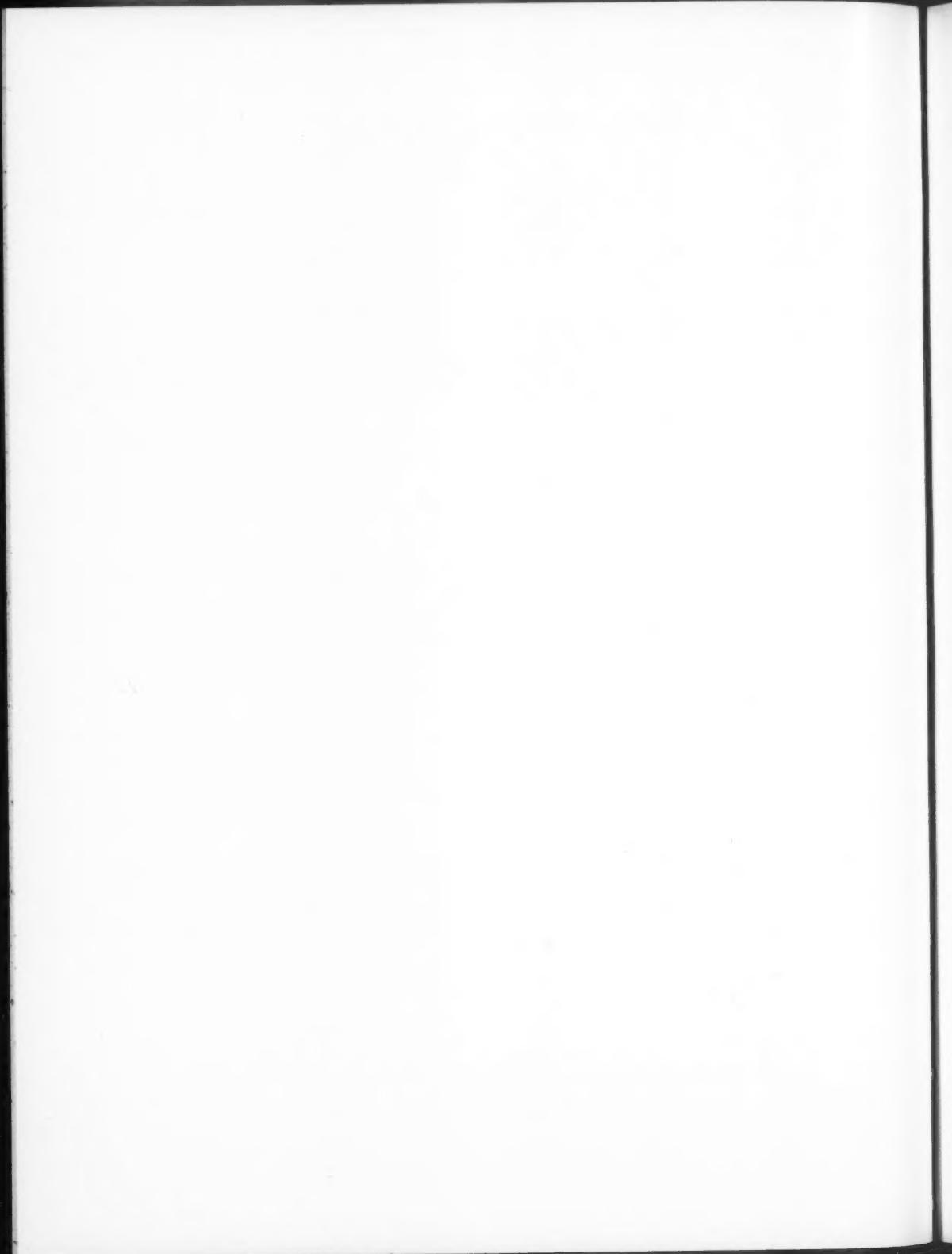
FIG. 3. The Warren, Nuthampstead, Hertfordshire. Sections



a. The Warren, Nuthampstead. The ivory pendant (1)



b. The Warren, Nuthampstead. The south mound from the east



(evidently the result of overflow) and the rest normal top soil blackened by the overlying decayed vegetable matter.

The second section (figs. 2 and 3, BB') tested both the west hollow and the south-west platform. It corroborated the information gained from the previous cutting.

That the site had been abandoned unfinished could now be accepted. Fortunately the workers had left trifling traces of domestic activities. Fires had been kindled, food eaten, and a few belongings thrown away or lost.

Beneath the north mound two hearths came to light, one on the old surface, the other at a higher level. Among the fragmentary charcoal¹ (4 to 6 in. deep) and blackened flints of the first hearth were broken animal bones,² identified as horse and domestic fowl, and a few oyster-shells. In and around the debris of the fire(s) were medieval potsherds. This fire-place covered an area 5 ft. long by 2 ft. wide; the second was 7 ft. by 3 ft. Here, too, were scraps of bone (too fragmentary for identification), oyster-shells in quantity, and potsherds similar to those from the first hearth. A few fragments of medieval pottery came from the old surface towards the lip of the moat. The occurrence of Roman sherds and a piece of Bronze Age ware high up in the mound was doubtless due to their having been brought up in the soil from the ditch. A third patch of ash and browned flints beneath the counterscarp bank, a foot above the old surface, produced a few more fragments of medieval ware, again among oyster shells. On the undisturbed clay beneath the platform in cutting BB' lay a fourth hearth. The charcoal layer (6 in. deep, 10 ft. long, and less than 3 ft. wide) contained pot-sherds, a few links of an iron chain, and a finely worked ivory pendant.

The Pendant (pl. xxiv a and fig. 4). Mr. T. D. Kendrick supplies the following note:

The small ivory pendant is a rectangular panel with a rounded top from which projects a flat-topped tongue perforated horizontally to serve as a loop for threading; it is 4·15 cm. in total height; the maximum width is 2·2 cm., and the pendant is nowhere more than 1·1 cm. thick. The colour is a pale buff, faintly mottled, and the ivory is well preserved and has a smooth pleasant surface, undamaged except for slight crushing at the top on one side of the loop. The back and foot of the pendant are plain; and on the front in deep relief is a carving of the Virgin and Child. The Virgin, who is crowned, is seated and facing frontwards; the Child, in banded swaddling clothes, lies across her left knee and feeds at the breast. There is a rough indication of an arched background, and an inscription **AVE MARIÀ GRÀ** (tia plena) in early Lombardic lettering. The head of the Virgin is slightly inclined towards her right, and there is a

¹ See Appendix.

² Mr. L. F. Cowley writes: "The domestic fowl remains were few and very fragmentary, but a portion of the tarso-metatarsus with the skin attached



FIG. 4. The Warren, Nuthampstead. The ivory pendant (†)

was that of a cock bird. Besides a portion of rib, the horse was represented by a portion of the left tibia: this belonged to an immature animal."

faint softening of the pose and robes in the direction of a Gothic manner, but the carving, which is English work, can hardly be later than c. 1225 and is more probably of a date c. 1200. The pendant is not easily matched among other ivory-carvings, and it may be easier to date when the collections of seal-impressions are again available for inspection. The general character of the figural style on the seals of Richard I, John, and Henry III on pl. vi of Wyon's¹ book seems to be nearer to the Nuthampstead pendant than that on any ivory. In addition to this pendant, small bronze figures of the Virgin and Child, about 2½ in. in height, of the early thirteenth century, have been noted in eastern England, one found near Bury St. Edmunds and one near Lincoln (*Antiquaries Journal*, xix, 327).

The Pottery (fig. 5). The small group of pottery consists chiefly of fragments from unglazed cooking-pots with one jug-handle. None of the rim fragments belongs to the dishes or bowls which often accompany cooking-pots, but some of the body fragments may, of course, belong to this type of vessel. The ware is well fired. Its colour ranges from buff and grey to red and black. Finely crushed flint used as backing gives it a sandy or gritty texture. Decoration is limited to a pie-crust rim, applied finger-printed strips, stabs, and incised lines. Two indeterminate sherds show traces of cream slip, a few have a thin patchy glaze on one or both faces. Four of the five cooking-pots illustrated (nos. 1, 3, 6, and 7) have variants of an inverted rim with a flat or flattish top. These are most closely paralleled at the Ashtead, Surrey, kiln site dated *circa* 1300.² The sharply everted rim, bevelled externally, of no. 4 is a continuation of a twelfth-century form known, for instance, at Lucombe, Isle of Wight.³ The Nuthampstead group belongs to the second half of the thirteenth century, a date not inconsistent with the survival value of the pendant.

FIG. 5

1. Upper part of cooking-pot; everted rim with flattish top; hard yellowish-brown sandy ware. AA', hearth 1. Cf. *Ashtead*, fig. 4, 10.
- 1A. Fragment of sagging base; probably from the same pot. AA', hearth 1.
2. Rim and handle of jug; hard sandy dark grey ware with red-grey core. AA', hearth 1.
- 2A. Fragment of sagging base of similar ware; probably from the same jug. AA', hearth 1.
3. Small fragment of cooking-pot; everted rim with flat top; hard grey sandy ware. AA', hearth 2. Cf. *Ashtead*, fig. 4, 2.
4. Upper part of large cooking-pot; short sharply everted rim with external bevel; hard black gritty ware with red core; stab decoration inside rim and outside below angle, with vertical applied pinched bands on body. AA', hearth 2. Cf. *Lucombe*, fig. 4, 3 and 4 for type.
5. Fragment of sagging base; thick grey sandy ware with yellowish inner face. AA', old surface towards edge of moat.
6. Fragment of everted rim of cooking-pot with flattened top; buff sandy ware with grey core. AA', hearth below counterscarp bank.
7. Rim fragment of cooking-pot; hard grey ware with grey-red core; pie-crust rim and horizontal applied finger-printed strip round body. BB', hearth. Cf. *Ashtead*, fig. 4, 7.

The Warren was evidently abandoned unfinished in the latter part of the thirteenth century, a period when large estates were, consequent on the Barons'

¹ Wyon, *The Great Seals of England*, p. 214.

² *Surrey Arch. Coll.* 1941, pp. 61 ff.

³ *Proc. I. of W. Arch. Soc.* 1937, p. 677.

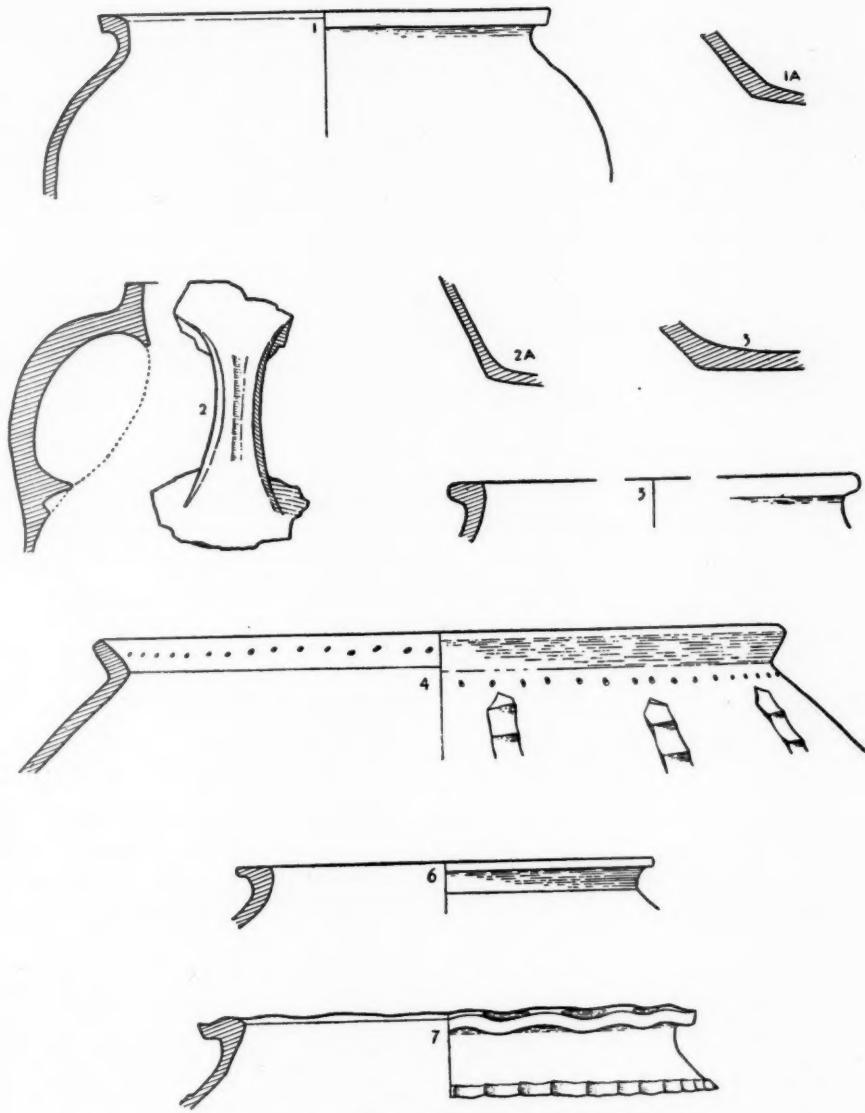


FIG 5. Pottery from the Warren, Nuthampstead (§)

Wars, being split up and the security of the homestead moat appealed to the new tenants of the smaller holdings.¹ There are five small moated sites in the near neighbourhood (fig. 1, 1-5) as well as the twelfth-century baronial castle of Anstey (6). The proposed final form of the Warren can only be conjectured. At three of the near-by sites (1-3) the level of the interior is only slightly higher than that of the ground beyond the moat. At the Warren spreading of the mounded material to the level of the platform would have achieved the same form. On the other hand, if the crest of the north mound represents the desired general elevation the site completed would compare with that at Hales Farm (5).

APPENDIX REPORT ON THE CHARCOALS

By H. A. HYDE, M.A.

Out of 11 small fragments of charcoal all but 3 (one an immature twig 0·6 cm. diam.) were identified as follows:

ASH (*Fraxinus excelsior* L.). Three pieces, the largest 0·6 cm. (measured radially)×0·6 cm. (measured tangentially)×1·2 cm. long.

OAK (*Quercus Robur* L. sens. lat.). Three pieces, the largest 1·0×1·0×3·5 cm.; all very slow-grown, with rings too close and indistinct to be counted.

SWEET CHESTNUT (*Castanea sativa* Mill.). Two pieces:

- (a) Part of a small branch with the base of a branchlet, 0·6×0·8×2·0 cm.
- (b) More mature wood, 0·8×1·0×2·1 cm.

Only the chestnut calls for comment. *Castanea sativa* may be indigenous to Britain, but it is usually regarded as a Roman introduction. There are certain records from prehistoric sites. Ridley² identified as chestnut fragments of charcoal associated with palaeolithic flint flakes and rhinoceros bones from a brick-earth pit between Erith and Crayford, Kent. Henry³ suggested that Ridley's specimen might be capable of some other explanation, though whether the identity or the dating were to be regarded as questionable is not clear. Clement Reid⁴ found no evidence for the occurrence of the tree in prehistoric times, but since the date of his *Origin of the British Flora* charcoals identified as chestnut have been obtained from various ancient sites in the south and south-east of England,⁵ thus providing apparently satisfactory evidence of its occurrence in Roman or perhaps pre-Roman times. The evidence, however, is so meagre and the status of the species is still so doubtful that the discovery of undoubted material dating even from the thirteenth century is worthy of record.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Thanks are due to Col. Hoeffer of the United States Army for providing labour. I am indebted to Mr. Kendrick for his note on the pendant and the loan of photographs, to Mr. Grimes for his drawing of the pendant, to Mr. Cowley for his note on the animal remains, to Mr. Hyde for his report on the charcoals, and to Mr. Dunning for discussing the pottery.

¹ *Roy. Com. Hertfordshire*, p. 14.

² Ridley, H. N., 'Castanea sativa' Mill. as a native of Britain', *Journ. Bot.* xxiii, 253, 1885.

³ Elwes and Henry, *The Trees of Great Britain and Ireland*, iv, 844, 1909.

⁴ Reid, C., *The Origin of the British Flora*, London, 1899.

⁵ Lyell, A. H., 'Notes on charcoal from excavations of the Red Hills', *Proc. Soc. Antiq.*, Ser. 2, xxii, 187-8, 1909.

'BASTARD FEUDALISM' AND THE LATER CASTLES

By W. DOUGLAS SIMPSON, M.A., D.LITT., F.S.A.

In fig. 1 we have a ground plan of Kildrummy Castle in Mar. The 'noblest of northern castles', as Cosmo Innes called this splendid ruin, is of special importance because it appears to be the most northerly example extant in Europe of the thirteenth-century castle of *enceinte* which on the lay or feudal side was the culminating expression of what has been styled the greatest age of Latin Christendom.¹ Conformably to its type, the castle consists of a high and massive curtain wall, enclosing a courtyard, and defended by round towers, large and boldly salient, at four of the angles, while at the fifth, midway in the south front, is the gatehouse. Along the north front are the principal domestic buildings—hall, kitchen, and *camera*—while on the east side is a large chapel, projected beyond the curtain, and set askew so as to aim at a correct orientation.

The gatehouse in its present form is somewhat later than the original layout. There is evidence that the builders began on the north side and worked their way round the *enceinte*, that the undertaking lasted a considerable time, and that when the gatehouse came to be built the castle was in English hands during the Plantagenet occupation, in which it played a famous part. The gatehouse accordingly is an Edwardian structure of the type usually found in English castles about the year 1300. I shall have something to say about this type of gatehouse later on. It may be assumed that the gatehouse in the mind of the original author of the plan of Kildrummy would have been a simpler affair—a mere portal between flanking towers, such as that whose foundations still exist at the contemporary castle of Bothwell on the Clyde.

But for this, Kildrummy Castle is typical of the west European castle of *enceinte* in the thirteenth century. Note that the domestic buildings are kept in rear of the fortified enclosure, as far as possible from the entrance which was always the danger point; also that the donjon is placed in the most secure position, at the extreme inner corner of the site. In other words, the weight and mass of the castle are reserved.

Let us now compare Kildrummy with another great Scottish castle, erected a full century later. Our second example is the castle of Doune in Menteith, built in the closing years of the fourteenth century.² Ground and first-floor plans of it are shown in fig. 2.

It will be seen at a glance that we have here a thesis radically different from that of Kildrummy. The weight and mass of the structure are no longer reserved, but are brought forward and concentrated on the front line. Upon this, all the principal buildings are consolidated; behind, the castle tails off into a mere screen wall, against which minor lean-to buildings were designed, but apparently never erected. And there is no 'great tower' or donjon, isolated in a corner like that of Kildrummy.

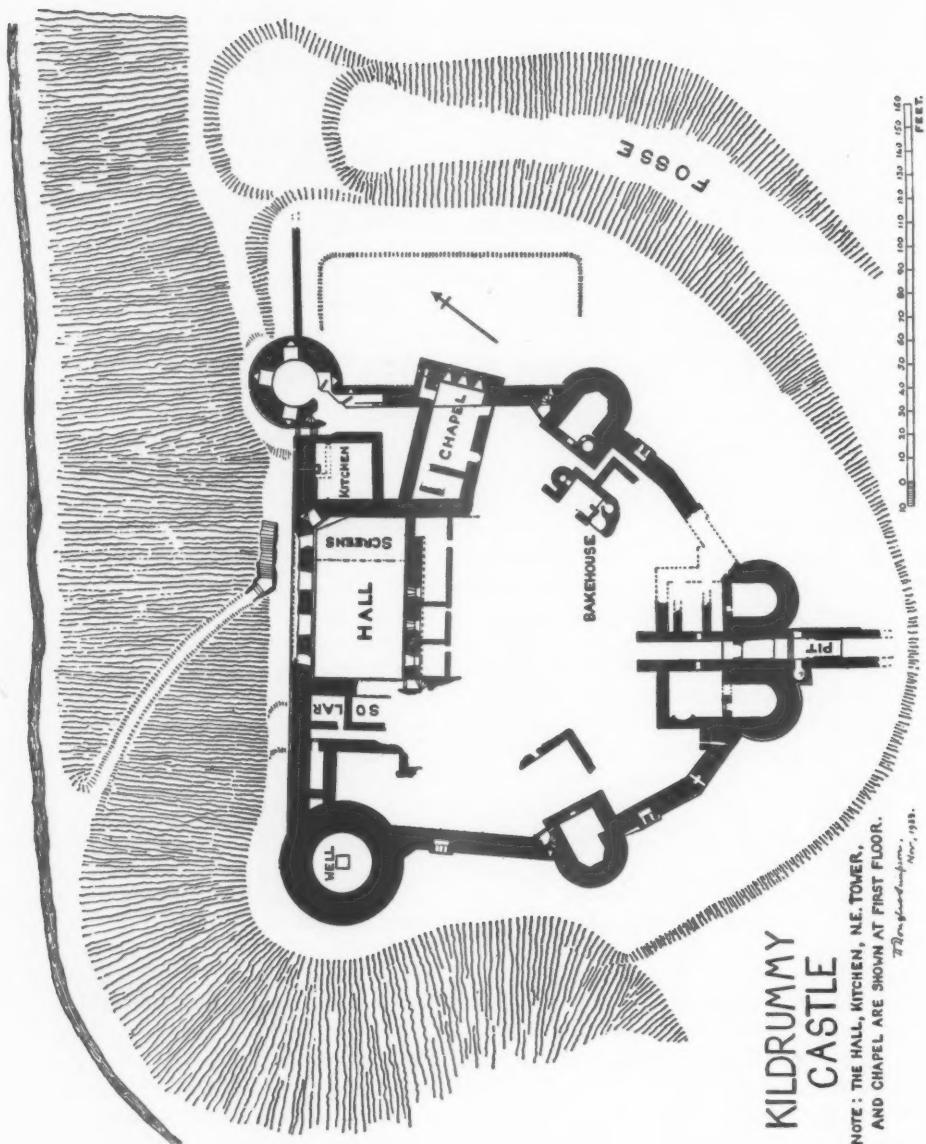
¹ For Kildrummy Castle see *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.*, pp. 143–50.
vol. lxii, pp. 36–80; also my *The Province of Mar*,

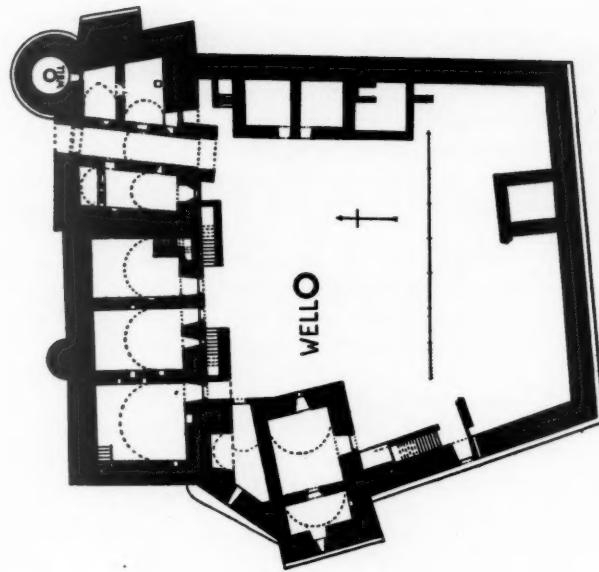
² See *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.*, vol. lxxii, pp. 73–83.

KILDREUMMY CASTLE

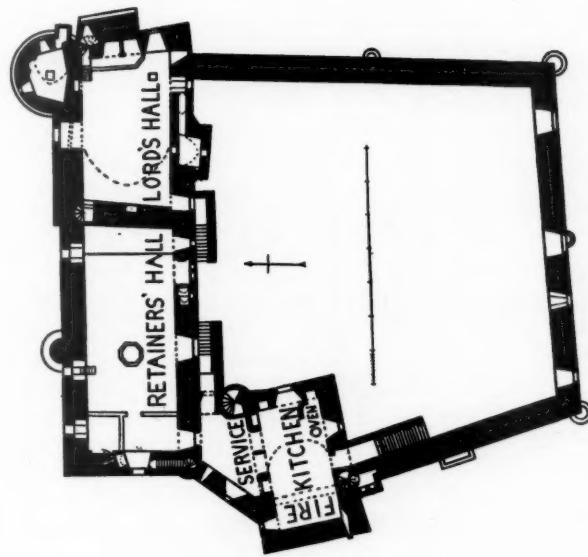
NOTE : THE HALL, KITCHEN, NE. TOWER,
AND CHAPEL ARE SHOWN AT FIRST FLOOR.
Archaeological Survey.
1938.

FIG. I
FORTY-FIVE FEET
TO S.S.E.





Ground floor



First floor

FIG. 2. Doune Castle. Plans

Instead we have in the forefront of the castle a complete, self-contained structure, forming a separate habitation for the lord or governor, and including the well-secured entry, which is thus under the lord's control. In this structure the most conspicuous feature is a bold, round, frontal tower, covering the outer portal. This composite structure—gatehouse and lord's residence in combination—is quite separate from a suite of domestic buildings, hall, kitchen, and the rest, also forming part of the frontal mass, but having no communication with the lord's residence, and obviously apportioned to the general body of the garrison or retainers.

Clearly in Doune we have to deal with a structure more highly specialized than Kildrummy. To understand it we must seek parallels. Either it is a *tour-de-force*, in which case its purpose will be guess-work; or else it has its analogues, a comparative study of which ought to throw some light upon its thesis.

Fortunately for our inquiry, a singularly close continental parallel to Doune exists in the superb Château de Pierrefonds, erected about the same time. Its ground plan is given in fig. 3. Here, as at Doune, the great frontal, composite mass of building, marked 'donjon' on the plan, contains in itself all the accommodation required in a seignorial residence of the first rank. As Viollet-le-Duc wrote:¹

Le donjon du château peut être complètement isolé des autres défenses. . . . Le donjon était l'habitation spécialement réservée au seigneur et comprenait tous les services nécessaires: caves, cuisines, offices, chambres, garderobes, salons, et salles de réception.

Doune and Pierrefonds, then, belong to a type, and a special one. It must owe its development to a specific cause. Some radical change in the requirements that it was designed to meet must have intervened to induce so drastic a re-grouping of the parts of the castle as compared to what we found at Kildrummy. Doune and Pierrefonds are, as it were, Kildrummy pulled inside out. Can we recover the secret of this *bouleversement*?

In some respects the analysis of a medieval castle plan is more difficult than that of, say, a monastery. The latter conforms to a rigid standardized conception, so that those features which are aberrant can be easily isolated from what is normal; and, once isolated, it is usually possible to supply an explanation. But the castle has fewer norms. Its parts and its plan alike are liable to infinite variation owing to the accidents of the *terrain* to which it is fitted, the requirements or whimsies of the owner, and the weight of his purse. That being so, it becomes more difficult to distinguish those features which should be regarded as essential in the architectonic conception of the structure. Fortunately, there exists in eastern Europe a large group of castles which were designed to meet requirements every whit as standardized and formal as those of the cathedral or abbey; and in these, accordingly, it is easy to detect modifications due to the impact of new requirements or new ideas upon a primary thesis.

The castles to which I refer are those massive and stately structures of brick which were erected by the Teutonic Order of Knights in the broad lands east of

¹ *Description du Château de Pierrefonds*, 6th ed., p. 18; *Dictionnaire de l'Architecture*, vol. iii, pp. 152-3.

CHÂTEAU DE PIERREFONDS

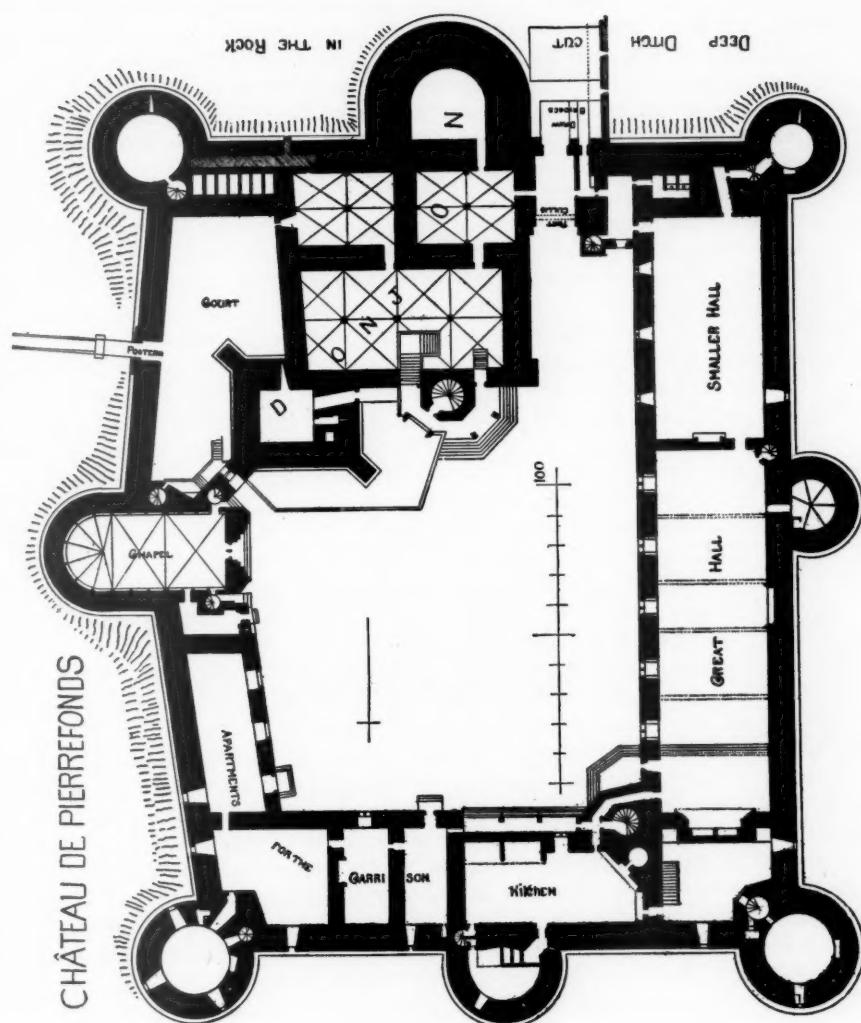


FIG. 3.

the Vistula which they conquered during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. In these lands there was evolved a remarkable and distinctive phase of castle building which was the outcome of the monastic discipline and conventional organization of the Order. The combination of the cross and the sword in the hands of the military monks entailed a corresponding combination of the cloister and the fortress in their dwellings.¹ The earliest castles of the Order consisted of the two interdependent elements of donjon or keep and *enceinte* or curtain wall, common to the contemporary military architecture of western Europe: the layout is usually quite irregular, dictated by the ground, or it may be in some cases by the earth-work lines of an old fort of the heathen Prussians.² But under the discipline of the conventional principle, the castle soon became rigidly rectangular on plan, and its apartments were arranged around a claustral court after the pattern of a monastery. In the latter part of the fourteenth century the *Bergfried* or donjon is usually omitted, and its place is taken by symmetrical angle-towers. Thus the whole design becomes schematic. In the baronial castles of the period the structure waxed or waned or changed its form in obedience to the owner's varying resources and the successive improvements in the arts of attack and defence. But the castles of the Order were built to house a commandery of twelve religious knights under a *Komtur*—on the apostolic pattern—and the number of these did not alter; nor could their requirements vary much, since each commandery was alike, and all the knights were equally bound by the monastic vows of poverty, chastity, and subordination. Moreover, in the fourteenth century the Order had, as a rule, no serious external or internal foes to fear, so that there was less call for a ceaseless development of defensive resources, such as went on during this period in France, torn by feudal anarchy and ravaged by the English invaders.³

But from the end of the fourteenth century the crusading fervour of the Knights of the Sable Cross began to wane, and they grew more and more to rely, for the maintenance of their power, upon mercenaries, and upon the swarms of knightly adventurers from all over Europe—our own Henry IV one among many—whom the prestige of the Order, combined with love of excitement and hope of booty, induced to take service in the long series of campaigns against Poland and Lithuania. Under such conditions, the commandant of an *Ordensburg*, instead of being the provost of a fraternity of his fellow knights, *primus inter pares*, is now chief of a gang of hirelings, for whom separate quarters must be provided. The allegiance of such *Lanzknechts* is fickle, and so the quarters of the *Komtur* and such *Ordensbrüder* as remain with him in the garrison must be isolated against treacherous onfall. For the same reason, he must have the entrance under his own control. The result emerges in such a castle as Neidenburg (fig. 4), begun about 1370. Here the

¹ 'Sie sollten weder bloss Klöster noch Festen sein, sondern eben beide durch die innige Verbindung von Kreuz und Schwert verklären'—Joseph von Eichendorff, *Die Wiederherstellung des Schlosses der deutschen Ordensritter zu Marienburg*, ed. 1922, p. 16.

² For an example of an early, irregular layout see the castle of Balga, *Journal Brit. Archaeol. Ass.*,

n.s., vol. xl, pp. 193–9.

³ The standard work on the castles of the Teutonic Order is Conrad Steinbrecht, *Die Baukunst des deutschen Ritterordens in Preussen*, specially vol. iv. See also Karl-Heinz Clasen, *Die mittelalterliche Kunst im Gebiete des Deutschordensstaates Preussen*, vol. i.

concentration of the weight and mass of the building over the entry, and the provision there of a separate quarter for the commandant, at once recalls to our minds what we found at Doune and Pierrefonds. Now the general use of mercenary troops, superseding the feudal levies, was a feature in the development of the art of war in western Europe during the fourteenth century. In this change, I submit, we have the key to the transformation of our castle plan.

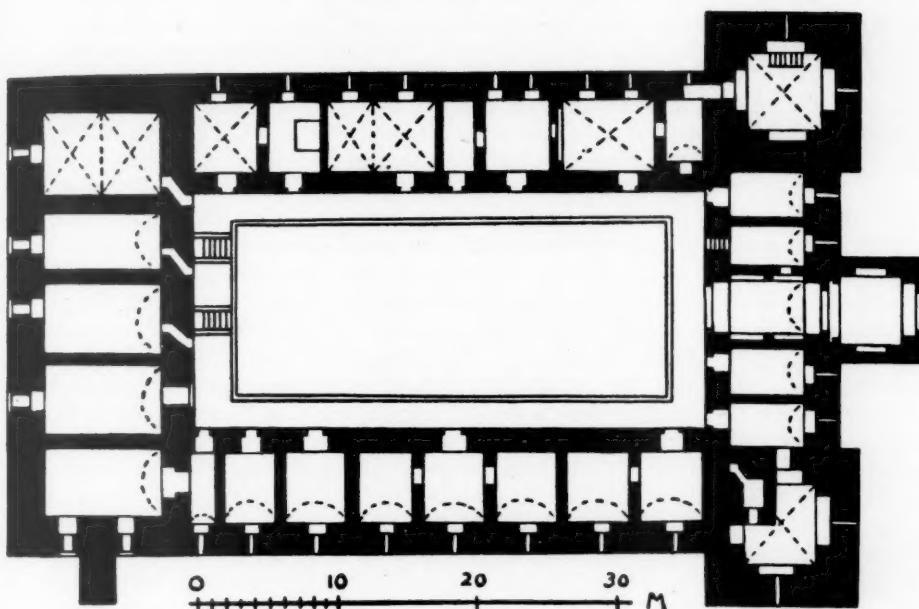


FIG. 4. Neidenburg. Ground plan (after Steinbrecht)

It is a mistake to conceive of a castle in the early middle ages as a garrisoned fortress in the modern sense. Primarily it is the residence of a manorial lord; and in peace-time would contain a mere handful of men-at-arms—in the lord's absence, often no more than a watchman or janitor. The baron would pursue his quarrel, and defend his castle with his own vassals, dwelling around him. All he required, therefore, was a towered curtain wall to fence his house. This is the simple thesis underlying even so elaborate a structure as Kildrummy. In time of siege, the tenants whom the lord called up to defend his home would be lodged in the towers. Often, under the system of tenure by castle-guard, an important vassal might have a specified tower to look after; and in some of our castles the towers still bear such vassals' names.

But in the later middle ages the attack and defence of fortified places had become a high art, for which the tumultuary feudal levies, ill equipped and untrained, were little fitted. Field warfare also had grown into a specialized science, and campaigns

were now pushed forward ruthlessly until one or other side was broken.¹ *Der totale Krieg* had superseded the chivalric contests, with all their polite conventions, that adorn the picturesque pages of Froissart. For warfare of this new type the feudal levies, bound only to serve for short periods at a time, were no longer suitable. More and more, therefore, particularly in France during the social breakdown that accompanied the Hundred Years War, the great barons in their chronic private quarrels came to rely on professional soldiers whom they maintained in their pay. For these mercenaries quarters had to be available; and this meant, for the first time, standing garrisons in each castle. Whereas in former days the castle, in time of peace, would contain only the lord's *familia* or household, it must now afford accommodation for a compact body of mercenary troops. The presence of these rough adventurers would always be inconvenient and not seldom dangerous, for they did not owe the tenurial loyalty or natural allegiance of vassals, and were at all times liable to be seduced by their employer's enemies.² Hence, for reasons both of privacy and safety, the great French lords of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries took care to provide their castles with self-contained residences for their families and their personal retinue. And it was plain common sense that this self-contained residence of the lord should include the main entrance of the castle, which the lord could thus retain under the control of his own trusted servants.

Of such conditions the Château de Pierrefonds is a product. Scotland, which borrowed so much from her 'auld ally', took over the conception and reproduced it with fidelity, though of course with less magnificence, at Doune. Nor is Doune *sui generis* in the northern realm. Perhaps the earliest, and certainly the simplest, version of the new thesis is found in the great Douglas stronghold of Tantallon, in East Lothian, first on record in 1374.³ The principal feature of this castle (Fig. 5) is the curtain wall, 12 ft. thick and 50 ft. in height, which spans the promontory from cliff to cliff, resting at either end on a powerful cylindrical tower. In the middle is the gatehouse tower, which serves also as a well-appointed residence for the lord or castellan. This massive structure is about 42 ft. square—comparable in size, that is, to one of the larger free-standing tower-houses in vogue at that time in Scotland. As seen from the front, and before it was altered in the sixteenth century, this gate-tower presented a most impressive appearance. The portal arch was deeply recessed between two projecting lateral portions of the tower, capacious enough to contain chambers. On the second-floor level these projections were corbelled out so as to form very large round turrets, carried up

¹ Contrast the French campaigns of Henry V with those of Edward III and the Black Prince.

² For the unstable allegiance of such indentured retainers see *Trans. Royal Hist. Soc.*, 4th ser., vol. xxvi, pp. 70–2.

³ The Bodleian Library map of Britain, c. 1300, shows a castle here, labelled 'Dentaloune'. This is confirmed by a reference to the *evil* of Castleton in 1335. The footings of a long wall uncovered in the courtyard, and bearing no relation to the existing structure, are probably a remnant of this earlier

castle. Apart from later alterations, easily identified by the use of a different stone, the present castle is substantially of one date.

For Tantallon Castle see *Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (Scotland), County of East Lothian*, pp. 61–7; also the *Official Guide* (H.M. Ministry of Works), by J. S. Richardson, F.S.A. Scot. Of older accounts, the best is by Dr. David Macgibbon in *Trans. Edinb. Archit. Ass.*, vol. i, pp. 77–84.

TANTALLON CASTLE

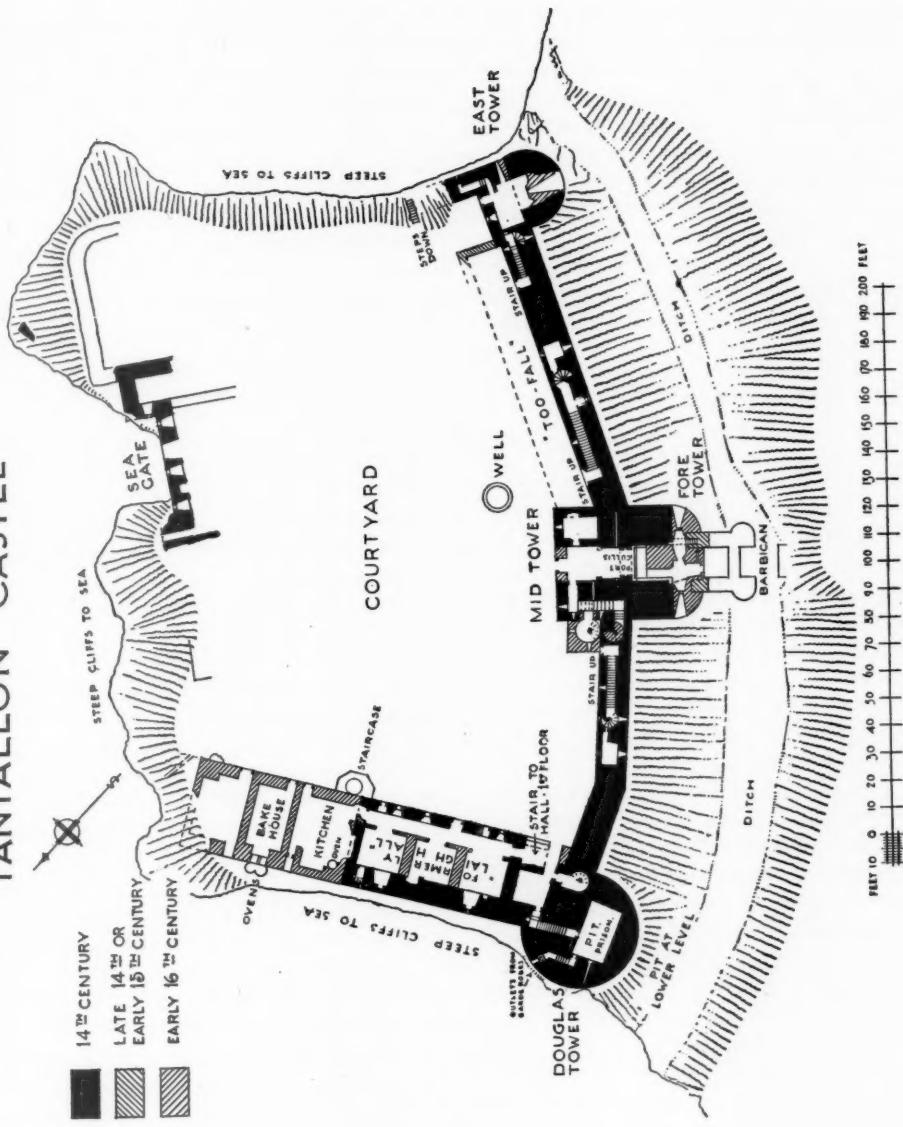


FIG. 5.

three stories, and connected at the third-floor level by a flying arch forming a post from which the portal below was covered by a *meurtri  re*. The corbelling of these turrets was likewise provided with machicolations. The main portion of the gate-tower contains five stories, rising to a height of fully 80 ft. The floor over the entrance passage formed a fighting-deck, from which the drawbridge and portcullis were worked. Above this was the lord's hall, and overhead two more stories contained respectively a solar and a *camera*. All these living-rooms are well fitted up, with garderobes and handsome fire-places. Ample sleeping accommodation for the lord's household was available in the chambers in the two frontal projections and turrets of the tower.¹ On the west side of the tower a spiral stair serves all the floors and was continued up above the tower-head as a turreted cap-house.

On entering the castle courtyard, we find on the left side a stately range of domestic buildings. Before it was extended and reorganized in the sixteenth century this range contained on the ground floor a spacious hall, with a fine fireplace, and stone seats in the window bays. Above this was a second hall equally spacious, known latterly as the 'lang hall'. In Scotland the universal practice was to build the hall on the first floor, over cellarage. Here at Tantallon we have a ground-floor hall, with a second hall on top of it. The inference to be drawn from these two halls is unmistakable. The lower hall will have served for the jackmen or paid retainers of the Douglas. Note that it has a central doorway, a most unusual arrangement in a medieval hall. Obviously there was here no division into screens, body of the hall, and dais for the lord's table. It is a barrack-hall, a mess-room, and nothing more. By contrast, the 'lang hall' is approached at the screens end up a broad open stair of state, and entered through an enriched doorway. It will have been used, in times of normal security, by the lord himself and his household. But in time of war the lord's post was surely in the mighty mid-tower, with the entrance passage in his safe-keeping. Of this passage, the rearward pair of folding doors closed against the courtyard, and is covered from above by a machicolation—so that the lord could hold the tower against his own jackmen in case of treachery.

Our analysis has shown that Tantallon Castle illustrates substantially the same thesis as Doune. Only it is not worked out with the same logic and consistency. In particular, the frontal massing, which makes so impressive a feature at Doune, has not been fully achieved. There can be no doubt that this frontal massing was in part deliberately designed to meet the requirements of scenic architecture.

How completely such a castle as Tantallon answered to the needs of its lords their history will show. For the Black Douglasses in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were the perfect example of a too-powerful baronial house, the head of whom imposed his will by means of the private army of jackmen or liveried retainers whom he kept in his pay. Of William, the sixth Earl, who presided over this mighty family from his father's death on 26th June 1439 to his own execution on 24th November 1440, the chronicler Pitscottie records that

quhair evir he raid he was convoyt with ane thowsand horsmen at sum tymes twa thowsand

¹ These chambers are far from being mere cells. 7 ft. 7 in. Their small windows have neat stone seats. Such is the scale of the building, that in the circular turrets they measure no less than 12 ft. 8 in. by

or ma. Amangis quhome he maintenit a gret compayne of thewys and murthiraris and wald bring thame to Edinburghe or ony vther townis of sett purposis in the kingis sicht to lat him vnderstand his michtie power.¹

The enormities inflicted by these bullying retainers are portrayed in feeling language by the old historian:—²

Schortlie murther and slaughter was come in sic delayance among the pepill and the kingis articles come in sic contemptiou that no man wist quhair to seik refuge wyles he had sworne him self ane servant to sum common murtherar or bludie tyrant to mantaine him contrair the invation of wtheris or ellis had given largelie of his geir to saif his lyfe and gif him sum peace and rest.

Of William, the eighth earl, whom James II murdered under trust in Stirling Castle in 1452, the same chronicler informs us that he

socht and perswadit all men vnder his opinioun and seruitude . . . daylie to ryd and gang with him as his awin houshald men and serwandis and to assist him in all thingis quhatsumewer he had ado quhider it was richt or wrang or with the king or aganis him.³

At a somewhat later date, in 1535, the Scottish Parliament passed an Act, entitled 'That na man ride, bot in sober maner', the terms of which show very clearly how the great lords used their armed following, not only for the cruder purposes of private war and spoliation, but also to intimidate the local courts and paralyse the judicial machinery:

ITEM, It is statute and ordained, that because there has bene great inconvenients and trouble wrocht in the cuntrie, be great persones, throw convocation of the Kingis lieges, at courts and gaderings, that therefore na persons tak vpon hand to ride to sik courts & gaderings, with maa persones then they may susteine in houshalde dailie.

Only the sheriffs and other royal officers are exempted from this prohibition, so that they may be in a position to bully the bullies—or, as the Act more discreetly puts it, 'for the execution of justice, and foorth-bearing of the Kingis authoritie'.⁴

Under such conditions, we need not be surprised to find that Tantallon and Doune are not without their analogues in Scotland. Another large castle of the later fourteenth century, if we omit alterations and additions, illustrates the thesis. This is Caerlaverock on the Solway.⁵ Here the gatehouse building, or donjon as it is called so recently as 1640, is more than a well-defended entry. It forms a complete, self-contained residence for the lord and his household, while the retainers would be accommodated in the buildings that preceded the present late domestic apartments round the court. No doubt the retainers' hall, as distinct from the lord's hall in the gatehouse, will have been against the opposite or long rearward wall of

¹ Robert Lindesay of Pitscottie, *Historie and Cronicles of Scotland*, ed. A. J. G. Mackay, vol. i,

p. 25.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 39–40. For a still more vivid and specific picture of Douglas tyranny see also pp. 64–6: 'So fearful was thair name and terribil to everie innocent man that quhan ane mischevous lymer was apprehendit for ane cryme no man durst produce him to the kingis iustice gif they allegit that

he murderest or slew at ane Douglas command.'

³ *Ibid.*, p. 89.

⁴ *The Lawes and Actes of Parliament, maid be King James the First and his Successoors Kinges of Scotland*, ed. 1597, f. 107, recto. A similar exemption was sometimes accorded to English sheriffs. See *Proc. Privy Council*, vol. vi, p. lxxvi.

⁵ See *Trans. Dumfries and Galloway Nat. Hist. and Antiq. Soc.*, 3rd ser., vol. xxi, pp. 180–204.

the courtyard. This is nothing else than the Neidenburg scheme. Other Scottish castles of the group are Sanquhar and Morton, both in Nithsdale; and, in its final form, Rothesay in Bute.¹ Nor does this exhaust the list.

Meantime, what of England? Here also a similar development came about in the closing stage of feudalism, before the outcome of the Wars of the Roses put an end, once for all, to the maintenance of private armies by the baronage. Every student of this period knows how serious an evil the armed retainers of the powerful lords had become, and how energetically the Tudor monarchs grappled with it in their statutes against 'livery' and 'maintenance'. The mischief had already become acute in the latter part of the fourteenth century; the first Act passed against 'livery' was in 1377, the first against 'maintenance' so far back as 1327.² In the overseas wars the English barons had only too aptly learned their bad lesson from their French antagonists. Instead of vassals they now surrounded themselves with armed retainers, each dight in his lord's livery and bound to fight for him in all his quarrels; while the lord on his part pledged himself to 'maintain' them against all legal consequences of their misdoing, either by suborning or intimidating juries, or, when that failed, by more violent means. Matters drifted from bad to worse after the English were turned out of France, and large numbers of unemployed ex-service men, habituated to lawlessness, were only too glad to accept the livery of a powerful lord. Out of such conditions arose what Mr. Trevelyan has rightly described as 'this revival of anarchy in a civilised society'.³

The old feudal spirit which prompted a man to treat his tenants and villeins as part of his stock, and which aspired to lead in war, and to judge and tax, his vassals without reference to their bond of allegiance to the Crown, had been crushed before the reign of Edward III; but the passions to which it appealed were not extinguished, and the pursuits of chivalry continued to supply some of the incentives to vanity and ambition which the feudal customs had furnished of old. The baron could not reign as king in his castle, but he could make his castle as strong and splendid as he chose; he could not demand the military services of his vassals for private war, but he could, if he chose to pay for it, support a vast household of men armed and liveried as servants, a retinue of pomp and splendour, but ready for any opportunity of disturbance; he could bring them to the assizes to impress the judges, or to parliament to overawe the king; or he could lay his hands, through them, on disputed lands and farms, and frighten away those who had a better claim. He could constitute himself the champion of all who would accept his championship, maintain their causes in the courts, enable them to resist a hostile judgment, and delay a hazardous issue. On the seemingly trifling pomp and pretence of chivalry, the mischievous fabric of extinct feudalism was threatening gradually to reconstruct itself.⁴

¹ For Sanquhar see *Trans. Dumfries and Galloway Nat. Hist. and Antiq. Soc.*, *ut supra*, pp. 258-74; for Morton, *ibid.*, vol. xxii, pp. 26-35; for Rothesay, *Trans. Glasgow Archaeol. Soc.*, vol. ix, pp. 152-83; vol. x, pp. 78-9.

² *Statutes of the Realm*, vol. ii, p. 3, vii; vol. i, p. 256, xiv.

³ *Hist. England*, 2nd ed., p. 259. There is plenty of evidence to prove the close connexion between lawlessness and the French wars. Thus in 1361 an Act of Parliament directs the justices of the

peace 'enformer et denquerre de touz ceux q[ui] ont este pilours et robeours es parties de dela, et sont ore revenuz et vont vagantz et ne voillent travailler come ils soleient avant ces hours'. And two years later, a royal rescript complains of outrages wrought by 'malefactores et pacis nostre perturbatores, qui nuper de pilagio et latrociniu in partibus exteris vixerunt'. See *Engl. Hist. Review*, vol. xxvii, pp. 234, 236.

⁴ Stubbs, *Constitutional History of England*, vol. iii, pp. 530-1.

To this illegitimate offspring of the old age of the feudal system the name of 'bastard feudalism' has been given.¹ Such retainers—'bastard feudatories'—lived inside their lord's castle, or at least within its purlieus:² they had their meal at his board, their liveries from his wardrobe, their swords, spears, knapskulls, and jacks from his armoury, and their horses out of his stables. Thus accoutred, they rode with their lord in martial fashion on his customary journeys from one manor to another:

When he attended Parliament, they went armed with him to London for his security, unless forbidden by royal proclamation to enter the city in military array. They received wages in money, in various sums, at times as low as a mark, and varying from this up to four or five pounds yearly, according to their own services and the number of their attendants. These retainers were always ready to begin a quarrel on their lord's behalf, or were able to prevent an old quarrel from dying out for want of fuel. They were ever at hand to vindicate the honour of the family they served by shedding the blood of a rival house, and were encouraged to enrich themselves by the plunder which even public opinion considered their proper reward. If these retainers crossed the sea with their lord for a campaign during the war with France, they shared with him all the spoil which they could carry off, and the moneys obtained from the ransom of captives taken in battle.³

What was the effect of all this upon the English castle plan? Can we trace in it changes similar to those which the new conditions of warfare and feudalism imposed upon the castles of the *Ordensland*, of France and of Scotland?

Already in the thirteenth century we find Edward I relying, for the armies with which he conquered and garrisoned Wales and Scotland, upon paid soldiers, whom he could retain and discipline, in preference to the feudal levies, bound only to forty days' service, and not under the king's direct control. The backbone of the new model army was provided by the bannerets, professional men-at-arms, who received four shillings a day, out of which they had to find their armour, weapons, horse, and food. The bannerets served as arrayers of troops, and between campaigns they and their *servientes* or troopers in their companies supplied the garrisons of the castles. In addition, the castles always housed a number of cross-bowmen, who were mercenaries *sensu stricto*, imported usually from Gascony.⁴ Although detailed information seems to be lacking, it is obvious that the marcher lords, who were engaged in constant hostilities against the Welsh, and whose right to raise their own armies and wage private war among themselves was a jealously guarded privilege, must have maintained standing forces by similar arrangements. Indeed the use of Welsh 'friendlies', both by the Anglo-Norman lords and by the Crown, is amply attested during the wars of Edward I. These were in effect professional soldiers, feed without regard to their feudal status. They formed coherent bands whose sole allegiance was to their paymaster. Gascon mercenaries were also

¹ See *History*, n.s., vol. xxv, pp. 223-5; *Trans. Royal Hist. Soc.*, 4th ser., vol. xxvi, pp. 53-79; vol. xxvii, pp. 29-39.

² In the indentures made between a lord and his retainers, a usual clause is that the latter are bound to 'be in the household by the lord's command', or 'at his will'.

³ W. Denton, *England in the Fifteenth Century*, pp. 293-4. The last chapter of this book contains the best study of livery and maintenance that I have met.

⁴ For all this, see J. E. Morris, *The Welsh Wars of King Edward I*.

employed by Edward in his Welsh wars, particularly during the hard campaign of 1282-3. As to the Welshmen, watchfulness was the avowed cue for the English authorities: 'vous sauez bien que Galeys sont Galeys, et vous les deuez bien conustre.'¹

It is therefore not likely to be a coincidence that in Wales, and in the Welsh marches, we find appearing towards the close of the thirteenth century a new type of castle whose chief feature, for want of a better name, may be denominated a 'keep-gatehouse'. This structure combines within itself the functions of a fortified entry and a self-contained residence for the lord and his *familia*. Such gatehouses are commonly found in the great Edwardian castles on the concentric plan, and accordingly they have often been regarded simply as an essential feature in that kind of fortress, and as nothing more. But the keep-gatehouse has an origin and an existence quite independent of the concentric castle. This is well shown by such a castle as Dunstanburgh on the Northumbrian coast, which never was a concentric castle, but consists simply of a vast enclosing wall, adjusted to the contours of the site, formidably defended with flanking towers on the only side from which it is assailable, and provided with a mighty gatehouse upon which the engineer, Master Elias, has lavished all his skill and resource. This gatehouse is far more than a well-fortified entry. It is also the principal habitation of the castle, providing in itself a complete *corps de logis* for the governor or castellan, who thus had the entrance into the castle under his immediate personal control. Elsewhere I have discussed the *raison d'être* of this remarkable castle, and have pointed out the two-fold purpose that it was intended to serve, as a *place d'armes* or garrisoned post and as a *refugium* in a constantly imperilled border district.² It is easy to understand how the keep-gatehouse design was peculiarly suited to such a castle, where a large standing garrison was maintained, and which also had to admit within its gates, as occasion demanded, disorganized and turbulent masses of refugees, no doubt with their due proportion of 'fifth-columnists'.

The same idea is seen at Llansteffan Castle, Carmarthenshire,³ which is not a concentric castle, and at Tonbridge in Kent,⁴ where the large and very fully developed keep-gatehouse is added to a mount and bailey. Here the self-contained jealousy of the keep-gatehouse thesis is carried to a climax. The entrance passage is guarded by portcullises in front and rear, and by two pairs of folding gates, the inner pair closing against the courtyard. Not only this, but even the side doors leading into the lodges are furnished with portcullises. It is surely significant that both Dunstanburgh Castle and this gatehouse at Tonbridge were erected by

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 269.

² *Archaeol. Aeliana*, 4th ser., vol. xvi, pp. 31-42. To the evidence collected there, in illustration of the circumstances that led to the castle being built, two further points may be added. One is chronological. The first Scottish invasions of Northumberland took place in the summers of 1311 and 1312; Dunstanburgh begins to be built in May 1313. The second point is a remark of the Lanercost Chronicler: 'now while the aforesaid things were being done

with Piers, the march of England had no defender against the Scots'—*Chronicon de Lanercost*, Bannatyne Club ed., p. 219. It is as soon as he has finished with Gaveston (June 1312) that Thomas of Lancaster turns his attention to his responsibilities for defending the Scottish march.

³ *Anc. Mon. Com., Carmarthenshire*, pp. 193-6.

⁴ *Journ. Brit. Arch. Ass.*, 3rd ser., vol. v, pp. 63-72.

Welsh marcher lords.¹ The climax of this conception is reached at Bothal Castle in Northumberland, licensed in 1343. Here the whole living-part is a gatehouse, which admits to a mere barmkin enclosure in rear.

At Llanstephan and Dunstanburgh the keep-gatehouse was soon given up as a house of entry. Its entrance passage was walled up frontally and a new entrance opened in the curtain wall on the flank. The same alteration took place in the Scottish castle of St. Andrews² and the Irish castle of Roscrea.³ Clearly the combination of a lord's residence with a gatehouse was found to have practical disadvantages. The interpolation of the drawbridge and portcullis machinery, not to speak of other defensive tackle, into the midst of the principal residential apartments, was decidedly awkward. At Harlech⁴ and Caernarvon the portcullis was operated from the chapel! This is *ecclesia militans* with a vengeance. At Dunstanburgh, Llanstephan, Tonbridge, and Caernarvon the difficulty was got round by relegating the hall to the second floor. But this arrangement was obviously inconvenient. The manifest failure of the keep-gatehouse plan to combine the requirements of residence and defence, coupled with the fact that this type of structure emerged so near the end of English castle building, gives the type a limited chronological range—say from 1270 to 1370. It is no longer found in Bodiam Castle, Sussex, erected pursuant to a licence granted in 1386. Its absence there is the more significant because Bodiam is a strong fortress, erected, as the terms of its licence show, to subserve national military needs. But if Bodiam lacks a keep-gatehouse, it is none the less a structure of cardinal importance for our present inquiry (Fig. 6).

On looking at the plan, it will be seen that the buildings on the southern and eastern sides of the courtyard, and on the north side east of the gatehouse, form a connected suite of intercommunicating apartments, providing a complete residence which consists successively, as we proceed counter-clockwise round the quadrangle, of kitchen, buttery and pantry, hall, great chamber, solar apartments, and chapel. The buildings on the west side of the courtyard, and in the western half of the northern side, likewise form a self-contained suite, and are furnished with a second hall and a second kitchen. Obviously these were set aside for the retainers, while the rest of the buildings were apportioned to the lord's household. Note that the retainers' quarters are completely isolated. They communicate neither with the gatehouse at their one end nor with the lord's suite at the other. It is significant that the water-supply in the south-west tower is under the lord's control. So is the gatehouse, which is secured equally against foes without and

¹ This formidable gatehouse—'as strong a fortress as few be in England' (*Letters and Papers, Henry VIII*, vol. iii, p. 508)—is an astounding thing to find in the peaceful home counties in Edward I's reign. It may have been designed against the possibility of a French landing. Or it may be a symbol of the Earl of Gloucester's habitual opposition to the Crown—an attitude that undoubtedly had much to do with his building of Caerphilly Castle.

² *Hist. Mon. Com., Fife, Kinross and Clackmannan*, pp. 250–7.

³ *Archaeol. Journal*, vol. xciii, pp. 180–1.

⁴ As Harlech is the perfect example of a concentric castle, and (in my judgement) the most masterly piece of castle architecture in Britain, reference may be made here to my paper on 'Harlech Castle and the Edwardian Castle-plan' in *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, vol. xciv, pp. 153–68.

treachery within; while access to its upper floors is obtained only by a stair from the owner's apartments. Note further the special security given to the south-east tower. It alone has a vaulted basement, and in it alone the stair can be reached only by entering the tower—elsewhere, entrance to the towers lies through the stairs.

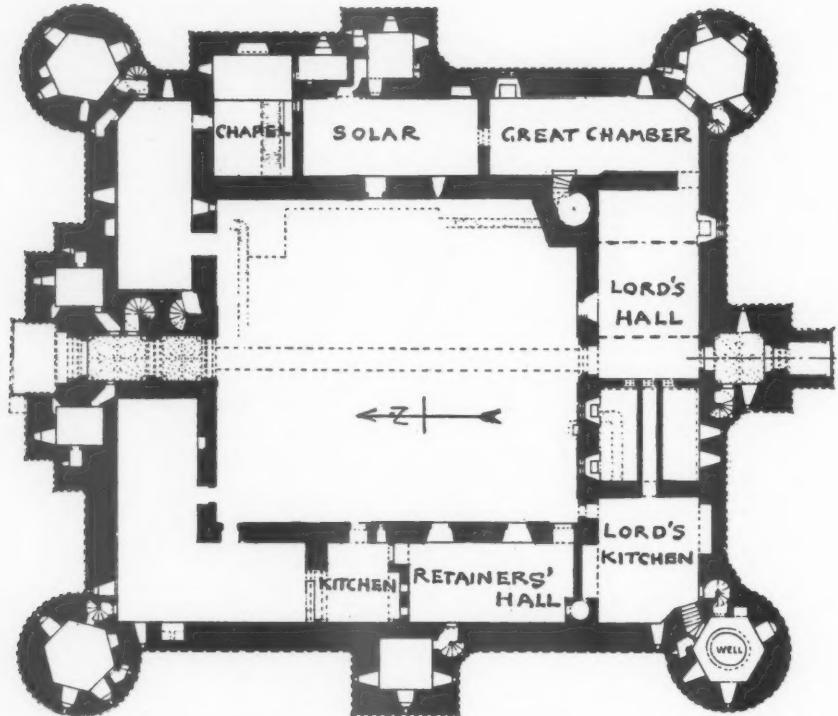


FIG. 6. Bodiam Castle: ground plan

Hence this south-east tower, opening off the private apartments, possesses something of the character of the donjon in a thirteenth-century castle.¹ Special security was likewise provided for the chambers in the east mid-tower, opening off the solar apartments: for the stair here is the only tower stair that does not rise from ground-level.

The retainers' rooms on the west side were two stories in height. So were the lord's private rooms on the east side. But between them, on the south side, the kitchen and the great hall rose to the full height of the curtain walls, so that all communication on the upper level between the retainers' quarters and the lord's suite was barred. Even on the wall-heads, this isolation of the lord's rooms is

¹ In respect alike of its relation to the lord's safety, it recalls the north-east tower in Conway Castle, and of the precautions taken for its

maintained. Thus there is no access from the west mid-tower (in the retainers' wing), *via* the wall walk on the curtain southward, into the south-west tower and so down its stair into the lord's kitchen. At the other end of the retainers' quarters, certainly a door admits from the north wall-walk to the gatehouse: but there is no through access at parapet level to the wall-walk on the eastern section of the north curtain, whence an intruder might have got down into the solar rooms by the stair in the north-east tower. Doubtless the door into the gatehouse from the wall-walk on the west was meant to enable the garrison to man the parapet defences of the gatehouse. In case of foul play, anyone descending the gatehouse stair with evil intent would find himself trapped in the gatehall at its foot, unless his associates had meantime gained control of the two inner portcullises. Even then, he could obtain no access into the lord's room adjoining on the east.

Like the main gate, the postern, reached only through the lord's hall, is wholly under his control. Observe also that the cellarage of the castle is all under the lord's suite, and was reached only through his hall, by the stair at the south-west corner. Thus the lord had the stores as well as the water in his own charge. The comparatively small size of the lord's hall shows very clearly that it was his private dining-room, and not intended for the common hall of the castle. It is obvious that these arrangements are in principle the same as those which we have already studied at Doune, Pierrefonds, and Tantallon. Bodiam Castle was erected in a national crisis against the imminent threat of a French landing on the Sussex coast. In the royal licence for its building, Sir Edward Dalyngrigge is specifically enjoined '*castrum inde in defensione patriae adjacentis et pro resistencia inimicorum nostrorum construere et facere*'.¹ Himself a famous veteran of the French war, the gallant knight will certainly, in the fulfilment of his obligation, have maintained within his strong new walls and sturdy towers a standing garrison drawn from his well-tried 'free companions'. For their reception, it is evident that his castle was carefully designed.

It has been acutely pointed out that the kind of obligation imposed upon the owner of Bodiam was one of the principal reasons why the Crown was unable, at an early stage before the general anarchy set in with the Wars of the Roses, to arrest the growing mischiefs caused by the practice of livery:

So long as the war with France lingered on, it was difficult to apply any practical remedy to the excessive number of retainers in the pay of lords of manors, and especially of the more wealthy and powerful peers. The Crown relied upon the large landowners for their contribution of men on any alarm of war, especially on any sudden declaration of hostilities, so that to limit the number of these retainers would be in reality a limitation of the means by which the Crown itself could wage war. It was not until the wars with France had in great measure ceased, at least for a time, and not until the power of the greater peers had been broken by the vigour and ability of the reigning sovereign, that the laws against "maintainers" and "retainers" could be effectually enforced. But to do so required all the administrative skill of

¹ *Cal. Patent Rolls, Rich. II, 1385-9*, p. 42; Lord Curzon, *Bodiam Castle*, p. 26. For the invasion scare see *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, vol. lxxii, p. 84. Between Pembroke's defeat at La Rochelle in 1372 and Arundel's victory at Cadzand in 1387 the English fleet lost control of the Channel.

Henry VII, all the legal acuteness of his ministers Empson and Dudley, and all the powers of the new or newly constituted Court of the Star Chamber.¹

The strict business conditions that governed the engagement of such 'bastard feudatories'—paid retainers, bound to serve their lord equally in his quarrels at home and in his wars abroad—may be best understood from an actual contract made in 1449. Its terms are as follows:²

This indenture, made between Richard, Earl of Salisbury, on the one part, and Walter Strykelande, son and heir of Sir Thomas Strykelande, Knight, on the other, beareth witness that the said Walter is retained and withheld with the said Earl for the term of his life, against all folk, saving his allegiance; and the said Walter should be well and conveniently horsed, armed and arrayed, and always ready to bide, come and go with, to and for the said Earl, at all times, and unto all places on this side and beyond the sea, as well in time of peace as of war that he be warned by the said Earl on his behalf, at the wages and costs reasonable of the said Earl, taking the said Walter yearly for his fee of the said Earl ten marks of money of the issues and profits of the lordship of Penrith, with the appurtenances, given by the hands of the receiver there being for the time, at the feasts of Martinmas and Whitsunday by even portions. And the said Walter shall take of the said Earl in time of war such wages as then he giveth to other of his degree, rebating of such wages of war the difference of his wages in time of peace. And the said Earl shall have the third of all winnings of war to be won or gotten by the said Walter, or any of his men that he shall have, at the costs and wages of the said Earl: and if any captain or man of estate be taken by him, the said Walter or any of his said men, the said earl shall have him, doing to the taker reasonable reward for him. In witness, etc., 1 Sept., in the 27th year of Henry VI.

The full implications of this bargain are understood only when it is realized that Walter Strykeland himself had retainers enrolled under his own banner to the number of 290 men all told: 'bow-men, with horses and harness, sixty-nine; bill-men, horsed and harnessed, seventy-four; bowmen, without horses and harness, seventy-one; billmen, without horses, seventy-six'.³ It was therefore a sizeable and workmanlike force of armed toughs whom Earl Richard thus gathered into his private army. And Richard Neville, earl of Salisbury, father of the 'Kingmaker', was himself a perfect specimen of the over-powerful baron of the fifteenth century who pursued his policies with the armed power that the practice of 'bastard feudalism' placed in his hands. As Warden of the Western March against Scotland,

¹ Denton, *op. cit.*, pp. 305–6. King Henry's view of the matter is admirably set forth in Chancellor Morton's speech before Parliament in 1489, as reported by Bacon (*Historie of the Reigne of King Henry the Seventh*, ed. 1622, pp. 58–9): 'Wherefore his Grace saith: that he seeth that it is not the blood spilt in the field that will save the blood in the city; nor the Marshal's sword that will set this kingdom in perfect peace: but that the true way is to stop the seeds of sedition and rebellion in their beginnings; and for that purpose to devise, confirm, and quicken good and wholesome laws against riots and unlawful assemblies of people, and all combinations and confederacies of them, by liveries, tokens, and other badges of factious dependence; that the peace of the

land may by these ordinances, as by bars of iron, be soundly bound in and strengthened, and all force both in court, country, and private houses, be suppressed.'

² *Hist. MSS. Com.*, Appendix to Vth Report, p. 330: transcribed *in extenso* by Denton, p. 290. Many similar indentures are printed or summarized in *John of Gaunt's Register*, 1372–6, vol. i, pp. xxii–xxiii, 288–350, and 1379–83, vol. i, pp. xli, 13–26. In Scotland such agreements were expressively known as 'bonds of manrent'.

³ Denton, *op. cit.*, p. 289. For this system of subcontracting see *Trans. Royal Hist. Soc.*, 4th ser., vol. xxvii, p. 32.

he could plead a good excuse for the need always to have embodied troops quartered in his own castles of Middleham and Sheriff Hutton, as well as in the royal castle of Carlisle. For years he conducted private wars against his eastern neighbours, the Percies, and against the Westmorland branch of his own family, who laid claim to Middleham and Wensleydale. How this great Yorkist magnate and the other lords of his faction rode up to London, at the head of their armed retainers, for the Parliament of 1454, is vividly portrayed to us in a newsletter of the time:¹

Then, the Duke of York wole be at Londone justly on Fryday next comyng at night, as his owne men tellen for certain, and he wole come with his household meynee, clenly beseen and likly men. And th'erle of Marche cometh with hym, but he will have a nother feliship of gode men that shall be at Londone before hym . . . and such jakkes, salettes, and other herneys as his meyne shulle have, shalle come to Londone with hem, or before hem in cartes. The Erle of Salesbury wille be at London on Monday or Tywesday next comyng with seven score knyghtes and squyers, beside other meynee. The Erles of Warwyk, Richemond and Pembroke comen with the Duke of Yorke, as it is seide, everych of theym with a godely feliship. And natheles th'erle of Warwyk wole have Ml men awaiting on hym beside the feliship that cometh with hym, as ferre as I can knowe.

When we learn that in the year 1507 it was quite usual for between one and two hundred retainers of the Duke of Buckingham to sit down to their meat in the great hall of Thornbury Castle,² we are not surprised to have found that the presence of standing garrisons (for such in effect they were) on such a scale exerted a profound influence upon the castles in which these multitudes were housed. Nor was the matter one affecting only the castles of the greatest lords. The lesser land-owners, themselves often the retainers of the great barons, kept up retinues of their own. A good instance is furnished by Charles Nowell's gang, whose misdeeds in the neighbourhood of Norwich bulk so largely in the Paston letters. This ruffian and his accomplices made their headquarters in the house of a local squire, which, so we are informed, they had turned into a 'forslet'

and issu ought at her pleser, sumtyme vj, sumtyme xii, sumtyme xxxti and mo, armed, jakked and salattyd with bowis, arwys, speris, and bylles, and over ride the contre and oppresse the people, and do many orible and abhomynable dedis lyke to the distruction of the shire of Norfolk, wythoute the Kyng owre Sovereyn Lord seth it redressid.³

In the north of England, where the danger of Scottish raids compelled the smaller squires to live in tower-houses,⁴ it was no doubt the standing presence, in their households, of armed garrisons that led so frequently to the addition of a hall to the tower-house—the latter continuing to serve for the accommodation of the

¹ *Paston Letters*, ed. James Gairdner, 1904, vol. ii, pp. 297–8.

² On Friday, 10th December 1507, the attendance at dinner numbered 114, namely 42 gentlefolk, 34 valets or yeomen, and 38 garçons or grooms. Of these, 24 were strangers, the others being of the lord's household. This was apparently quite a normal day. On Christmas day the number dining rose to 299: 95 gentlefolk, 107 yeomen, and 97 grooms; of

these 182 were strangers. At Epiphany, 6th January 1508, the extraordinary number of 519 sat down to dinner. This multitude was made up of 134 gentlefolk, 188 yeomen, and 197 grooms. There were 319 strangers. It therefore appears that the normal household ranged between 100 and 200 all told. See *Archæologia*, vol. xxv, pp. 311–42.

³ *Paston Letters*, vol. ii, p. 267.

⁴ *Archæol. Aeliana*, 4th ser., vol. xvii, pp. 75–84.

owner and his household, while the former was set aside for his men-at-arms.¹ Even the farmer of the fifteenth century was affected by the prevailing lawlessness. His steading must be moated round about, and his labourers slept under his roof so as to furnish him with a standing garrison.²

No better example of how all this worked out in practice could be found than in the story of the Duke of Norfolk's attack on Caister Castle in 1469. That princely residence had come into the possession of the Pastons by the will of its builder, Sir John Fastolf. The Duke of Norfolk claimed that his father had had a promise of it from the old knight. So he gathered his armed retainers and sat down before the place. The force with which his Grace assailed the castle was estimated by its defenders at 3,000 men, commanded by four knights, and fully equipped with siege guns. Against this onslaught John Paston, who commanded in his elder brother's absence, could muster no more than twenty-eight men; and the distinction between the old feudal system, in which a castle would be defended by its owner's tenantry, and the new warfare which relied on professional jackmen, is vividly brought out in a letter from Sir John Paston³ to his brother sending him four of their mercenaries, whom he had 'wagyd'—'provyd men, and connyng in the werr, and in fetys of armys, and they kan wele schote bothe gonnys and crossebowes, and amende and strynge them, and devyse bolwerkys, or any thyngs that scholde be a strenkthe to the place'—in other words, 'gentylmanly, comfortable felawes', far better fitted to defend the castle than the tenants of the manor, who 'scholde be frayed for fer of losse of ther goods'.⁴ When all was over, and the castle, 'sore brokyn with gonne of the toder parte', had been unconditionally yielded, these 'comfortable fellows' were dismissed with their wages—the whole affair being viewed in the dry light of an ordinary business transaction:

As for John Chapman and his IIJ felaws, I have purveyd that they be payid ache of them XLs . . . and that is inow for the seson that they have don yow servys. I pray yow geve them ther thank, for by my trowthe they have as well deservyd it as any men that ever bare lyve; but as for mony, ye ned not to geve hem with owt ye wyll, for they be plesyd with ther wagys.⁵

In the hey-day of feudalism, the power of a baron had consisted in the number of his tenantry whom he could bring into the field. Social and economic conditions were now widely changed. In the fifteenth century the tenants held their farms by lease, no longer upon military service, and, to an increasing extent, their rents were paid in coin. So the baron's power now lay in the amount of hard cash in his coffers, with which he could fee 'gentlemanly, comfortable fellows' like John Chapman and his three. In such a contest the Pastons, chronically and often ludicrously short of ready money, were no match for his Grace of Norfolk:⁶

¹ An excellent example is Yanwath in Westmorland. See *Trans. Cumb. and Westmorland Antig. Soc.*, n.s., vol. xliv, pp. 55–67.

² Denton, *op. cit.*, p. 186.

³ The elder brother and owner. His second brother, who commanded at Caister, bore the same name—a not uncommon practice in the Middle Ages.

⁴ *Paston Letters*, vol. iv, pp. 306–7.

⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. v, pp. 56–7.

⁶ The keeping up of such private armies was a costly business, in which many of the lesser gentry brought themselves to downfall. As a contemporary puts it: 'that is the gyse of yowr contre men, to spend alle the good they have on men and livery gownys, and hors and harnes, and so beryt owt for j. wylle,

In every shire, with jacks and salets clean,
 Misrule doth rise, and maketh neighbours war.
 The weaker goeth beneath, as oft is seen,
 The mightiest his quarrel will prefer.¹

We have spoken of Thornbury Castle, Gloucestershire, and the great company of retainers whom it housed. Let us now examine the remains of this splendid building in order to see how far it answers to the special conditions of the household for which it was designed. Substantially, the present castle (see plan, fig. 7) represents all that was completed of a magnificent reconstruction of the older building, taken in hand (as an inscription on its gatehouse shows) in 1511 by Edward Stafford, third duke of Buckingham, and left unfinished by him at his execution in 1521.² It is a building of the highest architectural importance, and for two reasons. In the first place, it is perhaps the last great baronial house in England to be built in the old castellated style, retaining something of the serious purpose of medieval fortification, along with much of its brazen-fronted parade of feudal pride and power.³ The imposing entrance front, with its central gatehouse between two massive towers, and its tall and ponderous angle-towers—all crowned with machicolated parapets—has much of the character of a fourteenth-century castle, together with not a little of its stern reality. For the ground floor has no original openings other than narrow slits, crosslet loopholes, and gunports; and the machicolated crest of the sole complete tower, while providing an imposing effect of which its builder no doubt was fully conscious, was also, like William of Deloraine—that bold retainer—‘good at need’. Yet on the southern front, where stood the residential buildings of the lord, we find that all semblance of defensive architecture has vanished. Large and beautiful oriel windows open on the ground floor; and doubtless the architect, and his noble patron, found it easier to discard considerations of security on this side, because here the castle is covered by a massive embattled outer wall enclosing the privy garden, beyond which lies the parish church and churchyard. This wall was provided with an internal two-storyed timber cloister-gallery, by which the ducal party could reach the church if they desired to worship there rather than in their castle chapel.

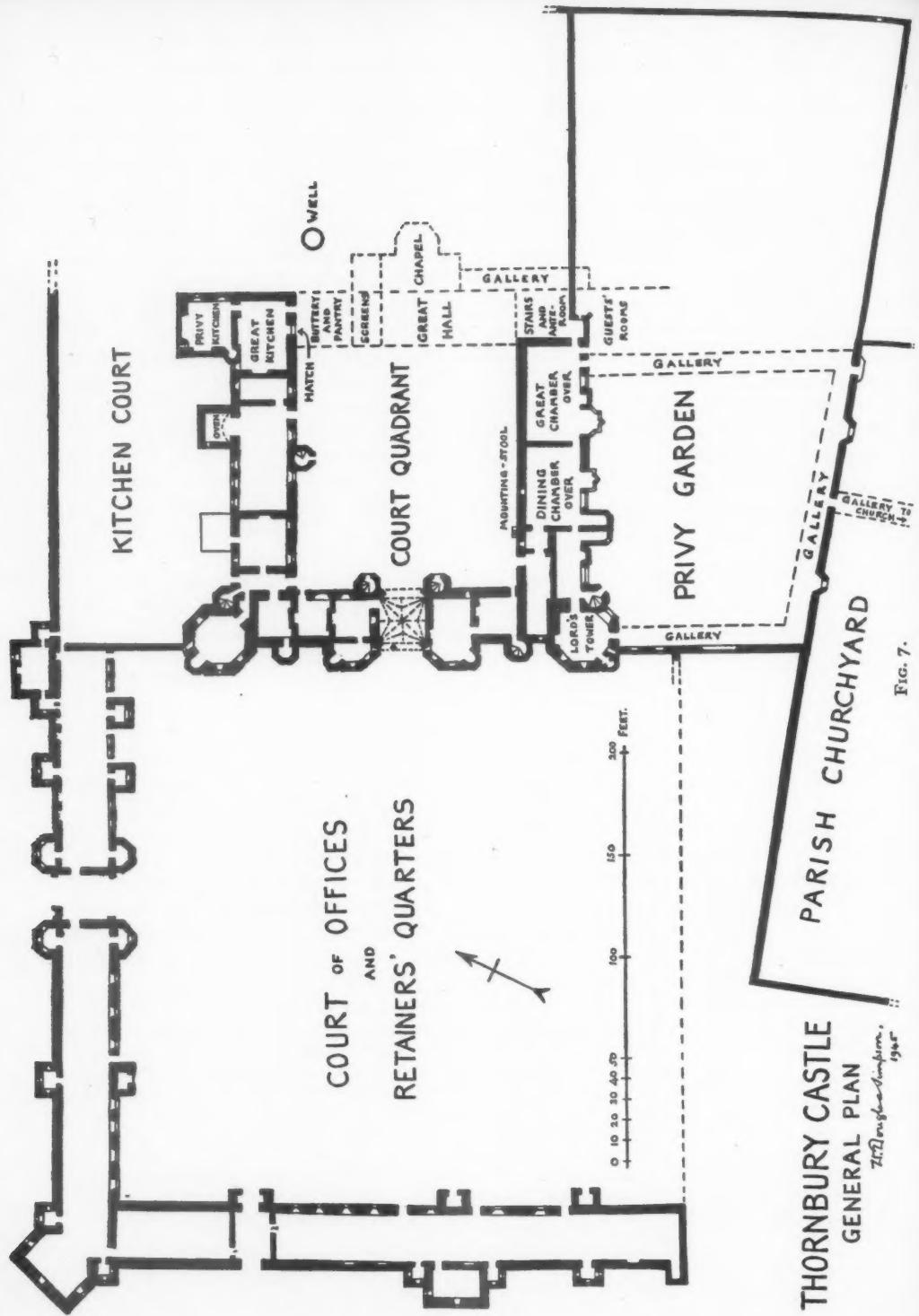
In the second place, Thornbury Castle, so far as I am at present aware, is among the latest English buildings in which we may trace the influence of ‘bastard feudalism’ upon the castle plan. By this time the Tudor monarchs had struck shrewd blows against the practices of livery and maintenance. ‘As to riot and and at the laste they arn but beggars’—*Paston Letters*, vol. ii, pp. 329–30. When they reached the stage of beggary, there was nothing left for such squires but to become ‘gentlemanly, comfortable fellows’ on their own. And so the social mischief fed on itself and grew.

¹ John Hardyng’s *Chronicle*, p. 749.

² The licence to castellate was granted 9th July 1510. See J. S. Brewer, *Letters and Papers, Henry VIII*, vol. i, p. 172, no. 1157.

³ The castle with which Thornbury is best compared is Kirby Muxloe in Leicestershire. The building accounts tell us that it was begun in 1480,

and, like Thornbury, it was left incomplete by its founder’s execution in 1483. The two castles show the same rectangular layout and the same imposing frontage with central gatehouse and angle-towers. At Kirby Muxloe the gatehouse is a formidable structure, quite in the Edwardian tradition. Unfortunately too little remains to enable us to recover Lord Hastings’s scheme for the internal arrangements, but it seems clear that the hall and the kitchen were on the rearmost side, opposite the gatehouse. See the *Official Guide* (H.M.O.W.), by Sir Charles Peers.



THORNBURY CASTLE
GENERAL PLAN
THORNBURY, GLOUCESTERSHIRE.
1905.

FIG. 7.

'retainers', wrote Bacon, in his *Historie of the Raigne of King Henry the Seventh*,¹ 'there passed scarce any Parliament in this time without a law against them: the King ever having an eye to might and multitude.' The Court of Star Chamber was specially erected by King Henry to deal with the menace of private standing armies, and the last Act of Parliament against maintenance and retainers was placed on the statute-book in 1504.² Yet 'bastard feudalism' was long ingrained and hard to kill; and one of its latest exponents was our Duke of Buckingham, who, men said, 'was a noble man and wold be a ryall ruler'.³ He had appointed officers on his lands (so it was alleged in his indictment) for the purpose of retaining men, and had accumulated arms and habiliments of war, with a view of fortifying himself against the King.⁴

Although the over-mighty duke's reconstruction of Thornbury Castle was never completed, enough exists to show fairly clearly the ideas that underlay it. In the task of interpreting it, we are aided by two surveys, one made by the royal commissioners after the forfeiture, and the other in 1562.⁵ Although these documents are not free from difficulties, the general disposition of the buildings is clear enough. The main castle was designed in the traditional manner of a four-square building enclosing a courtyard and having an outer court of retainers' lodgings and offices in front. This outer court was entered from the open country by a gatehouse with frontal and rearward towers, the portal between which was still, even at this late date, provided with a portcullis. This retainers' court is a most astonishing structure. It forms a veritable barracks, containing stabling on the ground floor and well-appointed living-rooms overhead, reached by outside wooden stairs. From the exterior, its long array of walls and towers, well provided with crosslets and gun-loops, gives the impression of a town *enceinte*.

The western or entrance front of the main castle contains the gatehouse, like-

¹ Ed. 1622, p. 216. King Henry's attitude is very clearly set out in the celebrated story of his visit to the earl of Oxford at Castle Hedingham (*ibid.*, p. 211): 'At the King's going away, the Earl's servants stood (in a seemly manner) in their livery coats, with cognisances, ranged on both sides, and made the King a lane. The King called the Earl to him, and said, "My lord, I have heard much of your hospitality, but I see it is greater than the speech. These handsome gentlemen and yeomen, which I see on both sides of me, are sure your menial servants." The Earl smiled, and said: "It may please your Grace, that were not for mine ease. They are most of them my retainers, that are come to do me service at such a time as this, and chiefly to see your Grace." The King started a little, and said: "By my faith (my lord) I thank you for my good cheer, but I may not endure to have my laws broken in my sight. My attorney must speak with you." And it is part of the report that the Earl compounded for no less than fifteen thousand marks.' Note from this story that the purely economic bond

between a master and his servants was harmless: the Earl might have hired as many 'menial servants' as he liked, and dressed them in his own colours to boot. But the politico-military relationship between a lord and his indentured retainers was illegal, and for this the Earl had to suffer. Of course the distinction between the two classes of servant was easily blurred, and this seems to have happened in Buckingham's household at Thornbury.

² 19 Henry VII, chap. xiv. *Statutes of the Realm*, vol. ii, pp. 658-60.

³ See J. Gairdner, *Letters and Papers, Henry VII*, vol. i, pp. 233, 239.

⁴ See the depositions in *Letters and Papers, Henry VIII*, vol. iii, pt. i, pp. 490-5; do. in *Third Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records*, pp. 230-2.

⁵ For King Henry's survey see *Archæologia*, vol. xxv, pp. 311-13. The Elizabethan survey is printed by John Britton, *Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain*, vol. iv, pp. 127-9.

wise equipped with a portcullis. On the north side of the courtyard, from west to east in succession, were the wet larder, dry larder, privy bakehouse, boiling-house, great kitchen and privy kitchen, with lodging chambers above. On the east side the duke left the great hall of the older building standing, together with its 'houses of office'—i.e. scullery, pantry, and butlery—all, as King Henry's commissioners reported, 'of an homely façon'. From the Elizabethan survey we learn that the hall had a central hearth, which suggests that it was of date not later than the fourteenth century. The chapel, which seems to have been reconstructed by the duke, opened at the lower (i.e. north) end of the hall, and evidently was attached to its east or outer front. Like the chapel at Cowdray House in Sussex, it must have been of large size, having twenty-two stalls for 'priests, clerks and queristers'; and indeed the duke, like other great noblemen of the later middle ages, purposed to establish a collegiate foundation within his castle.¹ At the upper (south) end of the hall, and adjoining the privy garden, was a group of thirteen living-rooms, called in 1562 the Earl of Bedford's lodgings.² No doubt these were the guests' apartments.

On the south side of the quadrangle Duke Edward built himself a range of 'stateley loggings', whose 'curious workes' of oriel windows and richly moulded chimneys make this front one of the most vivid and charming examples left to us of the latest phase of English Gothic. On the ground floor this range contained three living-apartments, the westmost being the duchess's lodging, with her 'closet', or private room, in the basement of the great angle tower. On the first floor, at the east end, was the great chamber, reached by a stair from the old hall. At the stair's head was an anteroom, so that the privacy of the great chamber was secured against the hall. A gallery (no doubt over the staircase) connected the great chamber with the chapel, in which there were two upper rooms, 'with each of them a chimney, were the Duke and Dutchesse used to sit and hear service in the chappell'. Here again the design reminds us of Cowdray, where likewise the chapel had two entrances, from opposite sides, one by the hall screens for the general household, the other from the great chamber into the lord's gallery. Next westward from the great chamber was the dining chamber, and beyond that again the duke's private room, with his bedroom off it on the first floor of the angle-tower. Over this was another chamber, and over this again, in the top story of the tower, was the charter room.

We cannot, of course, be certain that, had Duke Edward been spared to complete his plans, he would not have replaced the old hall 'of a homely fashion' by a new and more splendid building of his own. But that this would have been another great hall we may feel reasonably assured: for the main intention of his reorganization at Thornbury seems clear enough. His layout is not, as a superficial glance at the plan might suggest, the traditional uninterrupted deployment of kitchen,

¹ *Letters and Papers, Henry VIII*, vol. i, p. 851, no. 5289. The number of persons specified in the royal licence, granted 2nd August 1514—dean, sub-dean, 8 secular priests, 4 clerks, and 8 choristers—answers to the twenty-two stalls noted in the survey. Even before this foundation, in 1507, the chapel at

Thornbury was served by a priest, 18 clerks or singers, and 9 boys. *Archaeologia*, vol. xxxv, pp. 321, 323.

² For the probable explanation of this name see Pugin's *Examples of Gothic Architecture*, vol. ii, p. 32.

offices, great hall, and solar apartments running clockwise round the courtyard, north, east, and south. For his south range violates this sequence. It starts from the opposite end. The dining chamber, or lord's hall, is at the west, not the east end of the great chamber; and the latter, as we saw, is shut off from the great or old hall by an anteroom. Instead of following on from the great hall in orderly sequence, the lord's suite is set back to back with it. Let us remember that at Bodiam the two suites, the retainers' and the lord's, similarly turn their backs upon each other. At Thornbury, as at Bodiam, the lord's suite forms an independent and self-contained quarter, not articulated with the rest of the accommodation. Very clearly the old hall was set aside for the duke's huge company of liveried retainers—more than 100 of whom, we recall, dined therein every day (no doubt by relays like the household at Cowdray)—while Buckingham himself, his family and their personal staff, were housed in the south range, with their own dining hall and private apartments. It would seem that these were provisioned across the courtyard from the private kitchen and bakehouse on the opposite side. So jealous was the separation between the lord of the castle and his miniature army of retainers that, while the ducal party entered the chapel by their own private gallery from their own suite, his retainers reached it from the opposite side, by a doorway in the screens or lower end of the hall.

It will be observed that the south compartment of the gatehouse is connected, by a stair turret, with the ducal suite, but the northern half is isolated from the buildings on that side. Conformably with this, the survey of 1562 informs us that the northern half of the gatehouse was the porter's lodge (with a prison below),¹ while the southern half contained on the first floor the apartments of the steward—an official who, in a great Tudor house, was second in command to the lord, and stood in intimate private relationship with his master.² This relationship is structurally expressed at Thornbury by the turret stair which connected the steward's lodging with the ducal apartments. At Bodiam, it will be recollectcd, the gatehouse is similarly linked to the lord's suite.

The great south-western tower was obviously designed, like the south-east tower at Bodiam, as a private and secure post, and in case of need a refuge, for the owner, whose personal apartments and strongroom it contained. The thick internal walls by which it is sundered from the adjoining rooms must have made it almost fire-proof. In case of necessity, the posterns at its base and on the first floor would afford the owners means of escape, via the cloister-gallery and the churchyard.

Note finally the isolated position of the guests' apartments—the 'Earl of Bedford's lodgings'—which, like the ducal suite, were thus secluded from the retainers in the old hall. Our analysis, in fact, has shown us very clearly that the governing factor in the design of Buckingham's castle was the constant presence within its walls of a large, no doubt noisy and perhaps sometimes unruly, retinue of liveried supporters, against whom the privacy of the lord, his family and their guests must be secured.

¹ As at Kirby Muxloe, the porter's lodge has an observation window to the gatehall.

Household Book at Cowdray, 1595: see Sir William H. St. John Hope, *Cowdray and Easebourne Priory*, pp. 119-34.

² This is well shown in Viscount Montagu's

With Thornbury Castle, then, we reach the final manifestation of the fortified house of the over-mighty subject, designed to accommodate his array of armed retainers.¹ The incomplete state of the building to-day may stand as no inapt symbol of the abrupt and drastic way in which the Tudor monarchy called halt to the evil practices summarized in the terms 'livery' and 'maintenance'. It may be freely granted that by the time when Thornbury was a-building the worst of the evil had already been overcome. The grosser lawlessness of the baronage had been curbed by the firm government of Henry VII. Yet the story of Buckingham's downfall itself reveals that the old danger was still latent; and while we may concede that it was as much for his privacy as for his safety that the duke secreted himself so jealously from his retainers, it is none the less obvious that his layout descends in an unbroken line from the great fourteenth-century castles like Pierrefonds and Doune. This becomes the more certain when we compare Thornbury Castle with the plan of Cowdray House, built some ten or twenty years later. At Cowdray the gatehouse and the frontal angle-towers have only the external appearance or make-belief of such. They do not form separate or tower-like units in the internal arrangement of the plan. Indeed, on the upper floors, the gatehouse is open to the range extending north from it. Thus the castellated effect of the main front of Cowdray is nothing else than a sham: and this despite the antique phraseology of the licence granted to its owner in 1533, 'to battle and fortify, crenellate or machicolate, those walls and towers'.² The same criticism also applies to the gatehouse (now destroyed) at Sutton Place, Surrey, while here the angle-towers have atrophied still further: they are now no more than frontal projections of the two lateral wings, and are gabled as such. It is very interesting thus to watch the degeneration—or evolution—of the medieval fortified front, with its central gatehouse and angle towers, into what became the common Elizabethan and Jacobean symmetrical façade with its central porch and lateral gables.

Before this paper closes, something must be said about another architectural product of the practices connected with 'bastard feudalism'. I refer to the remarkable group of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century tower-houses, added in every case to an older castle or manor-house, as at Dudley, Nunney, Warkworth, Tattershall, Ashby-de-la-Zouch, and Buckden. Since I have already discussed these buildings elsewhere,³ no more than the briefest mention of them seems to be called for here. They have been usually explained as due to a kind of antiquarian revival of the old Norman keeps. But they are, each and all of them, explicable rather as a means to

¹ Until I had examined Thornbury Castle I had inclined to the prevailing view that in destroying its builder Henry VIII was actuated by pure jealousy and native greed. But when one studies this formidable castle, so obviously designed to house a miniature standing army, and looking across Severn to Wales whence it was alleged that Buckingham drew his armed supporters, one begins to feel that after all Henry may have been justified in thinking that the duke would be safer without his head.

² 'Necnon muros et turres illos battelare vel tinellare kernellare et marchecollare.' 'This must be almost the latest, if not the latest, example of a licence to crenellate.' Hope, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

³ *Journal Brit. Archaeol. Ass.*, n.s., vol. xl, pp. 177–92; 3rd ser., vol. ii, pp. 121–32; *Archaeol. Aeliana*, 4th ser., vol. xv, pp. 115–36; vol. xix, pp. 93–103; *Archaeological Journal*, vol. xcvi, pp. 142–58.

provide the lord of the castle with a self-contained residence, securing the safety and the privacy of himself and his family, while the older domestic accommodation of the castle was turned over to his retainers. Sometimes the lord added his tower-house in such a way as to adjoin solar accommodation, in a manner worthy of his pride, to an existing domestic layout within the *enceinte*. This is what happened in England at Tattershall and Buckden; in Scotland at Holyrood; and, on a very great scale, at Marienburg in East Prussia. In other cases the lords withdrew into a tower-house or donjon wholly separate from the domestic range—often for that purpose reascending the long-derelict *motte* of an earlier scheme. That was what led to the building of the great donjons at Dudley and Warkworth, crowning disused *mottes*, and those of Nunney and Ashby-de-la-Zouch, where no *motte* was available. The same tension made itself felt at Wingfield Manor, where the builder of Tattershall, in this case erecting for himself a great house on a virgin site, provided it with a strong tower which, we may feel sure, was not in any way prompted by an archaeological admiration for Norman keeps. Even less is the 'huge hexagonal keep' of Raglan Castle to be explained as 'a fitting swan-song for the military architects of the Middle Ages'.¹ Its designers devised it under no sense of impending dissolution, either of themselves or of their art. On the contrary, they devised a castle vitally functional and practically adapted to the special needs of a 'scambling and unquiet time'.

Note. Acknowledgement is due to H.M. Ministry of Works for lending the plan of Fig. 5, and to the National Trust for permission to reproduce Fig. 6.

¹ H. Braun, *The English Castle*, p. 109.

DIFFERENCING IN ENGLISH MEDIEVAL HERALDRY

By the late S. M. COLLINS, F.S.A.

A CURSORY consideration of medieval coats of arms shows that any of them might undergo variation, often marked, without obscuring its association with the bearer and his family. Anyone who recognizes that a barry of *argent* and *azure* stands for Grey is prepared to allow that the same arms with a bend or a label or three roundels added may quite possibly indicate another Grey kin to the first. It is to such variants as these three latter examples that the technical term 'differencing' is here applied, that is, modified versions of an original arms borne by several members of the same male stock. While every student is aware of the fact of this differencing, the number of ways, or modes, of it is unexpectedly large. The following lines indicate the principal modes that are exemplified by the early rolls of arms still extant. Every discernible example—some thousands—has been examined.

Priority is naturally assumed by the mode of tincture-change, from the predominant number of coats that illustrate it. Thus by a simple inversion Percy bears both *Azure* a fess engrailed *Or*, and *Or* a fess engrailed *Azure*. Darcy goes further and also changes a tincture—*Argent* three roses *Gules*, and *Azure* three roses *Argent*. Leybourne takes another step and changes both—*Azure* six lions *Argent*, and *Or* six lions *Sable*. Here nothing is shared but the pattern, yet the medievals considered that kinship was not obscured. Tincture-change need not, of course, include inversion: we have cases of simple substitution. Chandos's pile *Gules* is on both a silver and a gold ground. Agilon has a silver fleur de lys now on *Gules*, now on *Azure*; Martel's hammers are on either *Gules* or *Sable*; Vavasor's daunce is *Sable* or *Azure* on a field *Argent*. Hastings changes both tinctures at once—*Or* a maunch *Gules*, *Argent* a maunch *Sable*. And there are other very numerous varieties of this mode: even three tinctures may be simultaneously affected. Certain families have conducted all their differencing by an extensive range of tincture-change alone; Roos's water-bougets, and Balliol's voided inescutcheon are examples.

We pass now to variation in the number of charges. Pedwardine has now two, now three lions passant; Wallis two or three bars gemels; Corbet one, two, three, and six corbies; Meynil's paly varies between six, eight, and twelve tracks expressly for different sons.

A stronger mode even changes an important charge. Raleigh may have either a fess or a bend; Freville a cross or a saltier. Blount is sometimes wavy, sometimes lozengy. The smaller charges are readily changed: Cantilupe's fleurs de lys or leopards' heads, St. Amand's roundels or molets, Champernoun's crusilly or billetty. There are very many other examples.

A charge may be added to an existing arms. Darcy has roses alone, and also with an inescutcheon; Grey adds torteaux to his barry. Roos adds a chevron to the three bougets, Trusbut a daunce. Crusilly to Lestrange's leopards, billetty to

Beauchamp's fess, floretty to Grey's bars, starry to Chandos's piles, are readily accepted. Again there are numerous further examples.

A less noticeable mode is to alter the drawing of a bearing. Pattishall's fess is engrailed and again wavy, as well as plain. Paveley's cross may as well be flory as paty. Burghersh and Hastang fork their lion's tail at times. Another variation of the kind lies in a change of arrangement. Cogenhoe puts his three lozenges either in chief or two-and-one. More extreme, Bardolf's three foils in the field appear at times on a bend, as do Burradon's roses.

More familiar than any of the foregoing to most students is the use of the surcharge, the term here applied to the bordure, the label, and the baton, and to a few other similar charges of very much less frequent use. Coats with the first three are together more numerous than even those of the first mode, tincture-shift. It is superfluous to give any individual example, for it is probable that any or every coat has or could have had any of these applied to it. But we may recall the canton added by Basset, Longespée, and others; Stafford's chief, Clare's fess, Felton's trellis, all cases of an occasional surcharge.

Where the differencing involved so proportionately considerable a change as with these large bearings, it is plain that a very well established convention could be safely relied upon. It could be confidently expected, for instance, that Stafford's chevron and chief would not mislead any observer to suppose it a differenced version of an original coat consisting of a chief alone; yet Bacon's bend engrailed and a chief did start as a chief. Unexpressed convention alone determined the question. But a mode calling for less elasticity or experience in the onlooker's mind presently began, and at length developed vastly. This was to add a single small insignificant charge of a conventional meaningless form, unobtrusively. It is convenient to term such things stigmata. These, e.g. a ring, a molet, a merlet, a crescent, together with the label from the preceding paragraph, constitute for the heraldry-manual writer the sole example of heraldic differencing. Examples of stigmatized coats became so numerous, even before the end of the medieval period, that only one or two exceptional illustrations will be given. Ufford adds a crown to his engrailed cross, Scrope a lozenge to his bend, Segrave a fleur de lys to his lion; Verdon nails his fretty. Together with these may be considered the more organic mode of crowning a lion (Burnell, etc.), or collaring the hounds (Mauleverer).

Although the scope of differencing as used by the medieval armorists is substantially covered by the foregoing, there still remain very many anomalous and intractable cases that will endure no ready classification. Pierpont has *Azure* a chief checky, as well as checky a chief *Azure*. Swinford has *Argent* three boars' heads *Gules*, and *Argent* on a chevron *Sable* three boars' heads *Or*. Cornwall's black bezanty bordure round a lion becomes a fess, a bend, etc., and no lion. Mohun incorporates Agilon's fleur de lys by drawing a hand to hold it in his maunch. Hastings takes Valence's merlets to accompany his maunch. There are many other such modes of rare occurrence.

For clearness the several modes have been illustrated here as single phenomena. But in fact there are inexhaustible combinations of two or more operating

simultaneously. Some form of tincture variation is accompanied by change of number of the bearings or by substitution of charges, or by a surcharge or a stigma. Again, while tincture-change is not made use of, combinations of almost any two other modes occur. And a further large group adds the tincture-change as well, to exhibit simultaneous treble differencing. Another scheme is to difference the difference: the added bordure or the label is next itself charged or varied.

It may be asked, Is any family known to use the whole range of possibilities? Stafford employs eight varieties, besides his main coat, the chevron, with sub-varieties; St. John as many; Bohun seven. Zouche can be allowed his dozen, Basset the same, distributed among three types. And families with much, though less copious, variety are innumerable. There is evidently no restriction upon the mode that might be applied to any coat within the range of possibility. A few families seem to have staked a claim to a charge and varied only its tincture—the voided escutcheon, the bougets, the fess engrailed, gyronny. Others, like Beauchamp, never change a tincture but vary the subcharges and stigmas.

With all this almost uncharted wealth of resource for differencing in medieval heraldry, a very natural question is: Surely some signs of a system should be discernible? In recent times it appears that Scottish industry thought it called for to plan a hard-and-fast scheme of differencing, complete with schedule and tree. Its success and its need must be a matter of opinion. But seen alongside medieval insouciance (English, of course) over this matter, it strikes some as deadly in its dullness. It can be said unhesitatingly that there is no trace of any system in the ways of medieval differencing detectable from sources so far extant. This is not to deny the possibility of it, though it may shake the likelihood. But to prove it would need a very much fuller and more exact body of genealogical evidence than is available to us for any known stock. Even Darcy, the least unpromising, has no certainty, and in no way suggests that an agreed system be evolved from the examples.

LINEAR EARTHWORKS: METHODS OF FIELD SURVEY

Notes prepared at the request of the Research Committee

*By SIR CYRIL FOX, President, B. H. ST. J. O'NEIL, V-P.S.A., and
W. F. GRIMES, F.S.A.*

I. INTRODUCTION

THE Council has decided that the study (primarily the survey) of boundary dykes and defensive linear earthworks shall be the major scheme of research to be sponsored by the Society. It is desirable that reports intended for publication by those workers who will take part in this research shall be prepared on agreed lines, in order to facilitate comparative study of the diverse material thus gathered; it will be appreciated (to take only one point) that a dyke is an engineering work usually of well-defined technical character, and that undated constructions may prove amenable to grouping in known schools (such as the Western Mercian) or in recognized culture periods.

II. MAPS

The maps used should be the O.S. 1-in. for general study, 6-in. at present for details. (In time it might be possible to do the latter, or much of it, on the new 2½-in. maps as they become available. But they are likely to be too small and too congested in some areas for detailed field-notes.)

As far as possible it is desirable that descriptions should be in terms of modern topographical details, but where this cannot be done the value of the National Grid for accurate location of points should be borne in mind. The grid-lines are now being added to the 6-in. sheets of the present series and are already available on the new edition of the 1-in. maps.

In matters of detail it is important, if full use is to be made of the information collected, that the map record should be clear. It is customary to indicate banks by a thick line, ditches by a thin; and this is a satisfactory convention. But it is sometimes important to bring out the relationship between modern and ancient detail, which may be blurred by the additions. Sketch-plans using hachures may therefore at times be required for such details; and in important cases they should probably be based on the 25-in. plan.

The gauge of the thick line and the spacing of the thin in relation to it should bear some relation to the actual width of bank and ditch. Particular attention should also be given to endings and a careful distinction made between accidental and deliberate breaks, especially at road crossings.¹

The position and direction of all photographs reproduced should be shown on the maps.

III. PROCEDURE

The fundamental principles which should always be borne in mind are that a linear earthwork should be studied (a) in relation to the country through which it

¹ Definitely rounded ends might be used for deliberate breaks, square ends for accidents.

passes, its geological character and relief; and (b) in relation to other antiquities in its neighbourhood such as Roman roads or ancient trackways; other dykes; hill-forts, early settlements (defended or open), and Roman villas; barrows and cemeteries, particularly Anglo-Saxon of the pagan period.

As is known to students of the dark ages, in the later reports on 'Offa's Dyke, A Field Survey', in *Archaeologia Cambrensis* (O.D. iii, 1928; O.D. iv, 1929; O.D. v, 1930; O.D. vi, 1931), and in that on 'Wat's Dyke, A Field Survey' in the same journal (W.D. 1934), a procedure designed to cover these requirements had been evolved and adopted; this, it is suggested, forms a convenient basis for future development and improvement. The following summary embodies the essentials of the scheme and certain unexpected aspects of the inquiry which may recur in the case of other linear earthworks: it is illustrated by reference to the above reports.¹

1. *Introduction.* A brief description of the dyke and that of the country through which it passes, with any other relevant matter. A general map should accompany this, contoured or layered, the scale to be as large as the length of the dyke under investigation permits (see, e.g., O.D. vi, pp. 1-5, and fig. 1).

2. *The Course of the Dyke.* The course and character of the dyke is then described in detail field by field, or stretch by stretch, throughout its whole length, with comments that may need elaboration later on in the report. The description is in sections, each illustrated by a strip of the 6-in. Ordnance Map reduced to 4 in. to a mile, with the nature of the dyke and other relevant matters drawn or written thereon in Indian ink. The length of each strip depends on the format of the publication. The key map (fig. 1 above) will include, for reference purposes, a marginal record of the position of each strip (see, e.g., W.D., pp. 211-52, figs. 3-20).

3. *The existing profile of the Dyke.* A series of level sections spread over the whole length of the dyke was taken with a 'Dumpy', a full-sized staff being used to save frequent resetting of the level. For Wat's Dyke nineteen sections were prepared on a scale of $\frac{1}{10}$ in. to 1 foot and reduced for publication to three-quarters of this size. This results, if the earthwork be medium to large, in a line-block of convenient size for most archaeological publications.

The profiles are described and analysed; in the case of Wat's Dyke (W.D., pp. 253-5 and figs. 21-4) the average height of the bank works out at 4·3 ft., the average overall at 47·9 ft., as compared with 6·3 ft. and 58·0 ft. for Offa's Dyke (forty-two sections). For a note on the importance of the soil or rock of and in which a dyke is built in determining its present-day condition see O.D. iv, p. 35.

4. *Passage-ways through the Dyke.* Original openings with rounded (undamaged) ends are not common in the Mercian works. Reference may be made to one in Offa's Dyke at Hope, which was disused soon after construction, and to a gap left for an important ridgeway—the Kerry ridgeway (O.D. iv, 1929, pp. 37-43).

5. *Broad gaps in a Dyke.* Broad gaps may be original or due to destruction. A series of gaps occupied by natural barriers—rivers and ravines—reduces the length of Wat's Dyke from 38 to 22 miles. But physiographical evidence for

¹ A Sir John Rhŷs Memorial Lecture, 'The Boundary Line of Cymru', *Proceedings, British Academy*, vol. xxvi, 1940, forms a convenient summary of, and therefore introduction to, this series of papers.

natural barriers in gaps is seldom as adequate as this, and the question arises: What are the principles governing identification, in a field survey, of artificial irregularities of the surface as elements of a levelled, or partially levelled, linear earthwork? This problem is discussed in O.D. vi, pp. 47-63, esp. pp. 61-3. Field survey cannot often replace excavation; but the more carefully the field-work is carried out the more clearly are the problems defined, and the more fruitful excavation is likely to be. The problem of Offa's Dyke in north Herefordshire is held to have been completely solved by the field-work alone. The solution was based on three observations: (i) That the southern ends of three of the four short portions of the dyke in this stretch of 13 miles were rounded (showing that they were meant to be terminals); the other (damaged) ends suggest this original character to a greater or less degree. (ii) That the dyke is confined to the four river valleys which cross this country between Rushock Hill and the Wye. (iii) That in descending Rushock Hill (where the dyke is continuous) to the Herefordshire Plain one passes on to the outcrop of Old Red Sandstone, a soil which in natural conditions was densely afforested. The Saxons, nosing westwards up the Arrow and the Wye, had cleared the valleys only: no structural frontier was needed elsewhere. See O.D. vi, map, fig. 22, and pp. 47-58, and W.D., map, fig. 40.

6. *Major and minor alignments.* The term 'alignment' in connexion with a travelling earthwork has a dual significance; primarily it concerns the plan and general layout in relation to the main features of the country, secondarily, the mode in which the course is set out and the earthwork constructed from point to point within the directional limits thus determined. We have in short to consider 'major' and 'minor' alignments. The major alignments consist of stretches of dyke often many miles in length, terminated by a definite change of direction, and appearing practically straight on a small-scale map. The significance of the major alignment in Mercian engineering practice was first demonstrated in 1929 in respect of Offa's Dyke, and proved increasingly important for analytical purposes as the survey went on. In one sector—the Wrexham-Oswestry district—the major alignments are 8, $\frac{7}{4}$, and 12 miles long, with maximal deviations from a dead-straight line of only 280, 300, and 750 yards respectively. The intellectual quality, the eye for country, and the intimate knowledge of the district manifested by the creation of such direct alignments carried out in very broken and mountainous country intersected by deep river valleys, without the aid of accurate maps, are remarkable. See O.D. iii, fig. 1, and pp. 106-71, and iv, fig. 1; also a summary in O.D. v, pp. 4-6 and fig. 1. For W.D. see pp. 257-9.

The mode of setting out the dyke within the limits thus defined, the 'minor' alignment, now claims attention. The course varies from absolute straightness to a winding trace. These variations can readily be classified, plotted, and their significance considered. Type I is straight between two mutually visible points: occasionally small deflections are seen, confined significantly enough to hollows invisible from the sighting-point. Type II is sinuous or irregular but at no point diverging markedly from a straight line. Type III is sensitive to the relief of the country-side. O.D. iv, pp. 51, 52, fig. 25; O.D. v, pp. 49-50; W.D., pp. 260-6.

Two figures in the Wat's Dyke paper, nos. 26 and 27, are worth examination as an attempt to show the complete trace of an important linear earthwork in terms of its layout. It is difficult to do this intelligibly, but it is important that workers should hammer out a suitable technique, and use it consistently, because minor as well as major variations in the methods employed in different earthworks may be keys to the identification of different schools of engineering.

7. *The Relation of the Dykes to contemporary agriculture.* The distribution and character of Types I and II of the minor alignments suggested that, in a cultivable country-side, the former represents cleared land, arable or pasture, the latter woodland.

A reconstruction, based on close study, of the country traversed by Offa's Dyke in the upper Severn valley will indicate the possibilities of the technique. It is a country-side into which a wedge of Saxon agriculturists might at an early date have forced themselves; and it is noticeable that the straight stretches of dyke therein occur on land most favourably situated for agriculture. Briefly stated, the condition in the eighth century appears to have been as follows: the south slope of Llanymynech Hill and the area between the Vyrnwy and the Severn was arable and meadow land; a narrow belt bordering the Severn near Buttington up to the 300-ft. contour was arable, and above that was woodland; the short straight stretches at the 800-1,000-ft. level in Leighton parish represent, it is probable, not arable but open downland. On the south-west slope of the Long Mountain the rich lands were cultivated up to the 600-ft. contour, the whole area as far as Rownal being, except for Hem Hill, an agricultural country-side. From Rownal to within a thousand yards of Caebitra brook there was thick woodland; thence to this brook was arable. Passing upwards through another belt of woodland the crest of the Mellington Hall spur is reached, whence arable fields and meadows extended to the hamlet of Cwm; from here the dyke sweeps in a broad arc up the steep slope (pasture and forest) of the Kerry Hill.¹

8. *Unity in design need not extend to construction.* In the mountain zone Offa's Dyke was built on a massive scale wherever the plotted traverse crossed or defined a clearing or a ridgeway. The intervening spaces were filled in less effectively: see O.D. v, pp. 68-71; and compare O.D. vi, pp. 67-9, and map, fig. 29.

Evidence that differences in scale and profile might on occasion be due to separate gangs being employed, the join-ups being imperfect, was also apparent. Offa's Dyke at Hergan in Shropshire, and Caswell Wood in the Wye valley may be cited (O.D. v, pp. 21, 51, and fig. 17; O.D. vi, p. 42 and map, fig. 29). Thus the (probable) sociological basis of the eighth-century Mercian labour organization dawned on the investigators.

9. *'Short' Dykes in relation to larger works.* Should 'short' dykes (cross-ridge and cross-valley) be met with near, and aligned parallel to, a larger work their study may be found to throw light on the latter. This was the case where Offa's Dyke

¹ It is important that the method should be tested by future investigators. Its validity cannot be deemed proven until other field-workers have used it successfully (C.F.). See O.D. iv, pp. 55-9 and

fig. 26; O.D. v, pp. 49-50, 61-2, 70, figs. 25b and 26; O.D. vi, pp. 52-6; W.D., pp. 267-70, and maps, figs. 25, 26, 27.

crossed a belt of mountainous country—the Kerry Hill and Radnor Forest district (O.D. iv, pp. 43–5; v, pp. 59–72).

10. *Deflections in a Dyke aligned on military principles.* When the normal practice in layout of a given dyke has been determined, any pronounced variation should be carefully scrutinized. There are indications that the Mercian engineer of the eighth century, plotting the course of his frontier dyke on military principles—forward slopes, good field of view to the west—was here and there led to modify his ideal trace by other considerations, probably political (O.D. iii, fig. 1, and pp. 102–4; O.D. iv, pp. 50–1; O.D. vi, pp. 65–7).

Two instances will here suffice. On the plateau-like summit of Rushock Hill, Herefordshire, the chosen course of the dyke gives a sufficient field of view to the west except at one point: here the earthwork turns sharply inwards to touch the crest of the hill, 1,245 ft. above ordnance datum, and as sharply returns to its original alignment. It is suggested that it was agreed by the Powers concerned in the demarcation of the frontier that it should pass through this point; the engineer fulfilled the ‘letter of the law’, but did not allow it to interfere more than was absolutely necessary with what he regarded as a suitable alignment in the interests of Mercia (O.D. v, pp. 47, 50, and fig. 24).

Again, on the Long Mountain, which forms the eastern flank of the valley of the Severn in Montgomeryshire, the dyke swings 800 ft. up the western slopes of an upland which was in any case controlled by Mercia; a more direct alignment (affording ample visual control over Welsh territory) would have followed the 400–300-ft. contours. The most probable explanation of the deflection is that the ruler of Powys demanded, as he certainly received, the cultivable lower slopes of the mountain (O.D. iv, pp. 50, 51, fig. 26).

11. *Excavation of Dykes.* Nothing needs to be said here about excavation technique: but since linear earthworks are notoriously barren of finds careful choice of a site for cross-section is advantageous, if dating evidence is sought. Success is of course most likely to be attained in the neighbourhood of settlement.¹ The obvious choice is a place where Romano-British pottery is known to occur; the position of sherds in the section should, in theory, show whether the structure is pre-Roman, Romano-British, or post-Roman, and Pitt-Rivers's famous sections through Bokerly Dyke and Wansdyke will be at once recalled. The clarity of the evidence for post-Roman date was remarkable in the case of the Devil's Dyke near Newmarket (*Camb. Antiq. Soc. Communications*, vol. xxvi, pl. III and pp. 98–109); the more complex find-pattern in Offa's Dyke at Ffrith, Flintshire, will be found in O.D. ii, *Arch. Camb.* 1927, pp. 255–63, fig. 12, x.

Lastly, there are two other aspects of such research on which information is desirable:

12. *Portions forming parish (or county) boundaries* (e.g. W.D., p. 277).
13. *Portions specially worthy of preservation:* for the benefit of the Ancient Monuments Branch, Ministry of Works (e.g. W.D., pp. 277–8).

¹ Success was obtained in a recent survey though no settlement was known: see ‘A Linear Earthwork on Greenham Common, Berks.’, *Arch. Journ.*, 1943, pp. 177.

NOTES

Some Flint Implements of special interest from Lincolnshire, Hampshire, and Middlesex.—Mr. A. D. Lacaille, F.S.A., contributes the following notes:—The writer is indebted to the collectors mentioned in the following for sending him a number of flint implements for inspection. To a few of these artifacts he wishes to draw attention because of their technological features and implications.

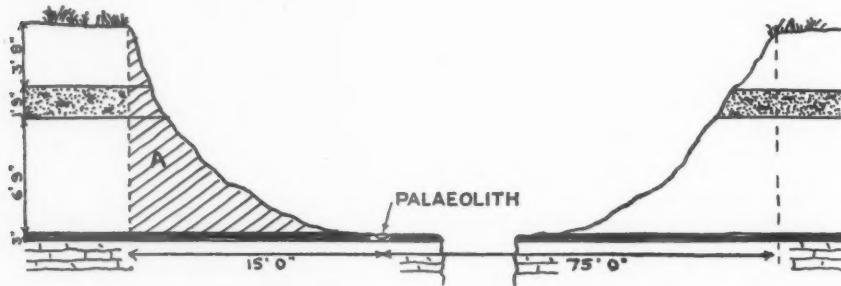


FIG. 1. Diagrammatic section of hollow at Risby Warren.
(A = Sand removed to secure clean section.) Drawn by H. E. Dudley

A. No. 1 was found at Risby Warren, north Lincs., by Mr. Harold Dudley, Borough Museum, Scunthorpe, in September 1944, when he visited the locality to search for a possible stratification of prehistoric cultures. An excavation made in the face of an isolated mass of blown sands at 228 ft. above O.D. gave the section (fig. 1):

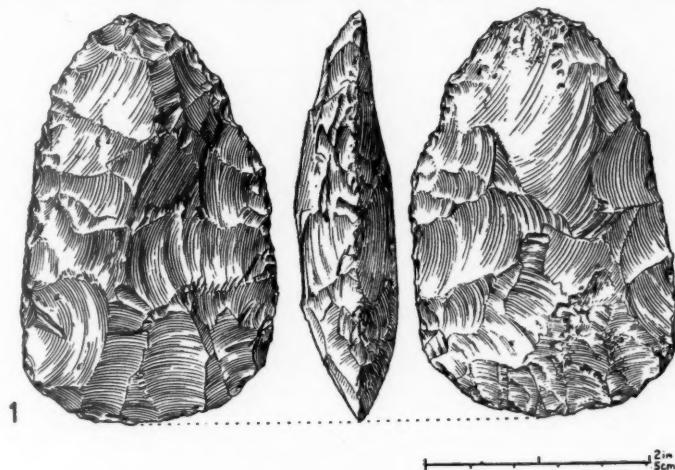
	Ft.	In.
4. Blown sand . .	3	8
3. Dark peaty sand . .	1	9
2. Firm blown sand . .	6	9
1. Clayey sand . .	0	3
Hibaldstow Oolite below.		

(The peaty sand 3 is the usual horizon from which many flint implements, mostly of Bronze Age types, are obtained at Risby.)

Dr. Vernon Wilson, Geological Survey, having examined a sample, expressed the opinion that the composition of bed 1 is not original. He considered that its clayey nature probably results from percolating water carrying down the finer interstitial material present in the overlying blown sand and concentrating it in the waterlogged basal part of the deposit. Around the dunes the winds had removed much blown sand and formed a deep hollow, leaving the more resistant clayey sand which continued beneath the dunes. The implement figured here was embedded in the basal deposit forming the floor of the hollow a few yards from the excavated dune. Recognizing that it differed in shape and patination from any artifact yet recorded in north-west Lincolnshire, Mr. Dudley submitted the specimen to Dr. K. P. Oakley, British Museum (Natural History), who pronounced it to be a palaeolith and showed it to me.

The implement measures $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. (0 m. 093) by $2\frac{1}{4}$ in. (0 m. 057) by $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (0 m. 019). It bears

a heavy mottled, ochreous, and yellowish-cream patination, and the flint has undergone further alteration principally by the action of wind-blown sand. A cherty inclusion is exposed in the only spot unaffected by surface change. The tool is fashioned in a leaf-shaped flake struck from a core, and is flaked over its whole surface to a cutting-edge which extends all round. The wider end has been secondarily treated by fine percussion flaking along the edge on the flattish separation face to a bezel which matches that produced on the other face by bold primary flaking. The natural destructive agencies have dulled the cutting-edge, worn down the flake-ridges, and



smoothed the scars, without, however, impairing the character of the workmanship, which is of high order.

On typology and technology the specimen is assignable to a well-developed Middle Acheulian industry, presumably of the later part of the second interglacial period (Mindel-Riss).¹ It may be classed with the finer ovates of plano-convex section made in flakes struck from cores of the sort which heralded the Levalloisian.² As such, it so far stands alone in the Humber basin from which a few Acheulian artifacts of the more common forms have already been reported.³ It is even more important, however, as an addition to our increasing knowledge of the northerly penetration of man during the stages of his Lower Palaeolithic cultural development. Since the geological associations of this find are similar to those attending implements of Upper Palaeolithic facies at Risby Warren,⁴ it seems that the Acheulian ovate was derived from an older horizon which has yet to be found.

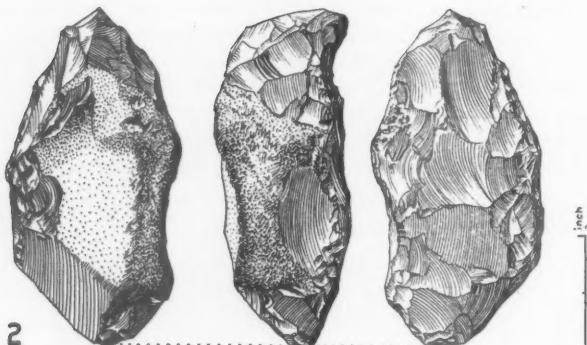
B. No. 2 was found by Mr. Dudley when excavating a Roman well in a sandpit near a thick deposit of gravel which has yielded a tusk of mammoth, on the line of Ermine Street, near Winteringham, about a mile south of the Humber. He thinks that the artifact had originally been contained in the gravel, some of which had been used to fill the well. It is a pick-like object flaked over one face and end of a nodule of squarish section. Measuring 3 in. (0 m. 076) in length, 1½ in. (0 m. 038) in width, and 1¾ in. (0 m. 029) at its thickest, it retains much of

¹ H. Breuil in *Bull. Soc. Préhist. Franç.* xxix (1932), 573.

² A. D. Lacaille in *Antiq. Journ.* xx (1940), 259–62.

³ A. Leslie Armstrong in *Mem. and Proc. Manch. Lit. and Phil. Soc.*, lxxiii (1939), 87–116.

⁴ A. Leslie Armstrong in *Proc. Prehist. Soc. of East Anglia*, vi (1928–31), 339.



no. 1. The character of the flaking and the depth of patination suggest that no. 2 is the product of an Upper Palaeolithic rather than of a Mesolithic or later industry. The artifact resembles the thick picks which appear in the full or Middle Aurignacian of the Continent.¹ This form may, therefore, have been introduced late during the period of climatic improvement between the two principal recorded glaciations of the North Country.

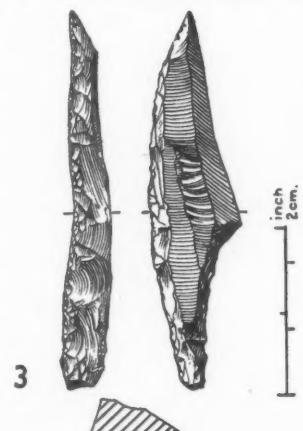
C. Objects like no. 2, however, are probably less familiar as Upper Palaeolithic types than the classic shouldered point (*pointe à cran*), of which no. 3 is an exceptionally fine example. It was found by Mr. J. H. Walshaw, of Scunthorpe, a few years ago on Risby Warren in the thin bed of clay 1 overlying the Oolite rock within a hundred yards of the spot where the Lower Palaeolithic ovate, no. 1, was picked up. The implement is patinated creamy white, the alteration being but little less dense than that on the foregoing (no. 2). It measures $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. (0 m. 052) long, $\frac{25}{32}$ in. (0 m. 022) wide, and $\frac{9}{32}$ in. (0 m. 007) thick. As a relic from an English site close to the northern limits of Palaeolithic human migrations it is outstanding. It is decidedly more advanced than any of the Aurignacian abruptly edge-dressed shouldered points featuring in several English Upper Palaeolithic assemblages assignable to the period of climatic improvement immediately before the New Drift glaciation of Britain (Würm II). At first sight one would be tempted to see in this piece a Solutrean form. Closer examination, however, shows its late Aurignacian character and resemblance to a La Font Robert point. Its lack of trimming on the faces, its steep side and true tang permit us to range the specimen with Upper Aurignacian points developed from La Gravette types,² rather than with the later Upper Palaeolithic revivals of the shouldered form such as may possibly be represented in the caves of the Gower Peninsula.³ Hence, the example under review is quite in keeping with the output of our English developed Upper Palaeolithic (Creswellian) and long-persisting descendant industries in which the La Gravette facies is prominent.

¹ H. Breuil, *Les Subdivisions du Paléolithique Supérieur et leur signification*, 1937 edition, 13, and fig. 6, no. 6.

² E.g. in the Grimaldi Caves. Breuil, *ibid.*, 9, 24–5, and fig. 3.

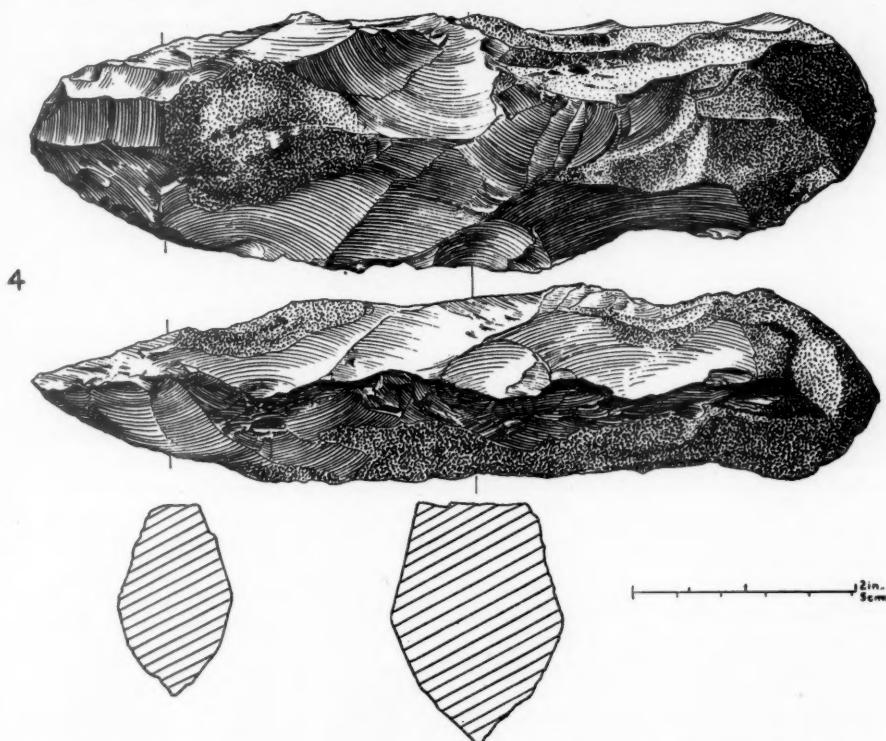
³ D. A. E. Garrod, *The Upper Palaeolithic Age in Britain*, 1926, 66.

the crust on one flank and several natural flake-scars patinated deep ochreous brown. Where cut through by the working, these exhibit the same dull chalky-white patination as the marks of the bold, short, and wide flaking that went to the fashioning of the implement. The curious beaklike end, however, has been more finely executed. Though unglazed, the heavy surface change does not differ much from that affecting the ovate



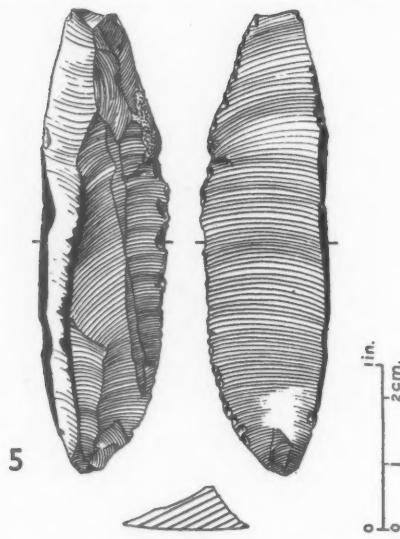
How the Palaeolithic types, Lower and Upper, contrast with the implements nos. 4, 5, and 6 now described, appears in the illustrations.

D. No. 4 was found by Mr. G. C. Dunning, F.S.A., on the surface of a ploughed field at Old Stoke Lodge, Stoke Charity, Hants, $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles north-north-east of Winchester. This locality, he tells me, has yielded the usual assortment of flakes, cores, scrapers, and knives, as well as part of a ground flint axe-head. The shapely specimen under review measures $7\frac{1}{2}$ in. (0 m. 19)



by $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. (0 m. 064) by $1\frac{3}{4}$ in. (0 m. 044). It is manufactured by the boldest of flaking in a thick rod. The working has spared considerable patches of the crust which now looks peppered and rotted. The scars resulting from the treatment, however, are entirely patinated to the familiar white which one usually associates with the older massive flaked tools from the Chalk region. This surface change is generally held to distinguish Neolithic or Early Bronze Age from later artifacts. The tool was not meant to be hafted, for the natural features of the nodule were turned to good account by the knapper, who skilfully flaked down the rear half of the back to a lower plane on the left side. This and the crusted knob-like end afford a perfect handle fitting admirably into the user's palm. A place for the right thumb is provided by a deep flake-scar on the left flank a little below the edge.

The specimen is a variant in a class of flaked artifacts derived from the Forest Cultures of the Continent, abundantly represented, widely distributed, and ranging over a long period in the area of the Chalk. It may fittingly be described as a chopper, but whether for smashing chalk



5

Mr. Dudley tells me that the Normanby Park locality has yielded comparable ground blades and characteristic Beaker ware. Our no. 5 may therefore be classed with the ground-flaked knives of discoidal and other shapes which from their associations have been assigned to the early Bronze Age. So far little has been said of Beaker pottery from Lincolnshire east of the Trent, and none of the flints treated in so specialized a manner has been recorded. This is a pity since their distribution ought to be studied, the more that an admirable lead in this direction was given over fifteen years ago.¹

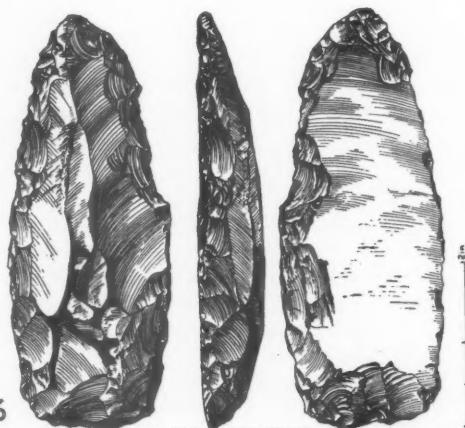
Besides shedding further light on early Bronze Age industry, the ground flint blades and Beaker ware from around Normanby Hall point to settlements in the lower Trent basin. Their presence suggests also that, despite its necessitating a crossing of the Humber, the Trent valley as a route cannot now be overlooked. It would afford a passage from East Anglia and Derbyshire into Yorkshire, all areas where many ground-flaked knives and Beaker pottery have been found.

F. Considering the rare references to stone implements which fall technologically into the same category as no. 5, it is satisfactory that to the list another example can now be added. This, no. 6, in the possession of Mr. G. L. Clayton, Muswell Hill, was discovered recently at a depth of 18 in. during the digging of a new garden

¹ J. G. D. Clark in *Proc. Prehist. Soc. East Anglia*, vi (1928-31), 41-54.

as suggested to me by Mr. Dunning, butchery, wood-working, or other craft can only be conjectured. Suffice it to say that its edge is bruised near the pointed end as if it had served constantly to strike some fairly hard substance. The signs of injury are distinguishable from those of manufacture by percussion.

E. Yet another pointer to the possibilities for research in north-west Lincolnshire is afforded by no. 5. This object, picked up by Miss D. M. Dannatt, of Wembley, in the Bagmoor Field east of Normanby Park, about three miles north of Scunthorpe, consists of a delicate honey-grey blade, quite unaltered, $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. (0 m. 07) long and $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (0 m. 019) wide. Looking at the bulbar face one sees that both edges are worn, for almost the whole length on the left, and near the upper end on the right below which it is finely ground. The grinding has involved some of this face. For approximately the same length it has produced a bevel along the corresponding edge of the obverse, the operation catching the ridge of the large central scar.



6

at 69 Buckingham Avenue, Whetstone, Middlesex. The containing deposit was described to me as boulder clay, but this I reject and suggest that its true character be determined. The artifact, $5\frac{1}{8}$ in. (0 m. 13) long, 2 in. (0 m. 051) wide, and $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (0 m. 022) thick, is made in a thick pointed mottled grey flake plano-convex in section. The flake-scars and ridges on its obverse indicate that the basic material was struck from a prepared core. The wide and fairly sharp lower end, which suggests that the tool is a chisel or adze, results from short flaking on the one face and from the removal of the swelling of percussion on the other. Bold dressing by percussion has been applied to the two long margins, one being treated on both faces. The edges of the converging sides have been more finely trimmed near the tip, the curvature on the bulbar face of which has been reduced by flat facetting. On the dorsal surface several salient ridges and areas are smoothed by grinding. Since signs of this operation are visible, it may be that we are faced with an unfinished tool. Like its immediate forerunner in this list it is probably referable to the early Bronze Age.

A new Long Barrow in Hampshire. Mr. G. C. Dunning, F.S.A., contributes the following note:—An unrecorded long barrow is situated at South Wonston, immediately north of Worthy

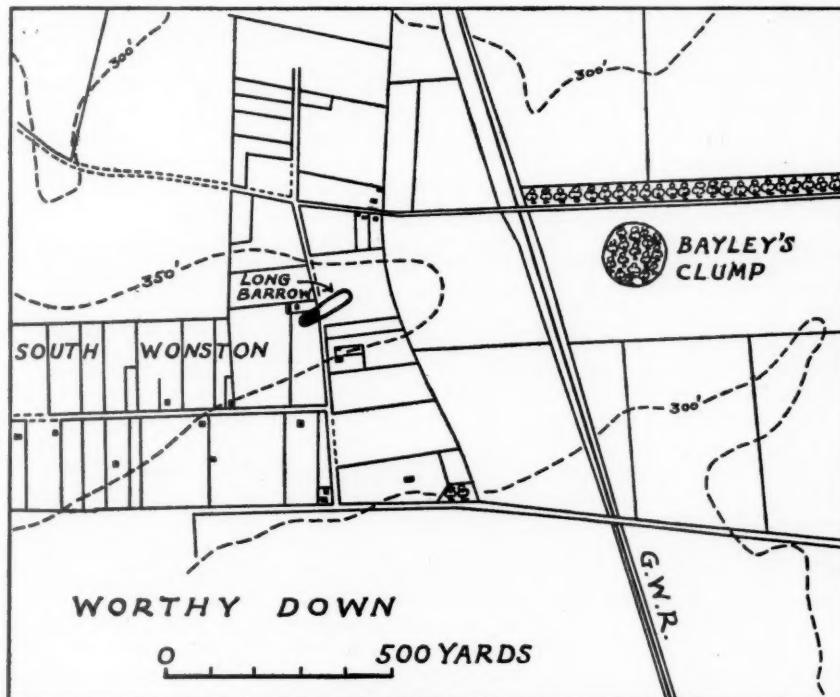


FIG. 1. Site plan of Long Barrow at South Wonston, Hants.

Down, in the parish of Wonston, 4 miles due north of Winchester (6-in. O.S. Hampshire Sheet 33 SW.), Lat. $51^{\circ} 7' 15''$ N., Long. $1^{\circ} 19' 30''$ W. The site was first noticed from the air in

1944, and has been visited several times. The barrow is enclosed in a loop of the 350-ft. contour, and the subsoil is chalk (fig. 1).

The axis of the barrow is north-east to south-west; at about one-third from the west end it is crossed by a road. West of the road about 90 ft. of the mound is preserved in good condition and grass-grown; it is 60 ft. wide and 5 ft. high. On the south side the flanking ditch can be traced; a hedge runs along the north side and the ditch is obscured by a garden. A flint end-scraper, 3 in. long, with thick white patination (fig. 2), was picked out of the section of the mound on the west side of the road. East of the road the mound extends into a cultivated field and it has been much reduced by constant ploughing; it is now about 1 ft. high, and the soil contains more chalk than elsewhere in the field. The ditches are parallel and show as dark lines on the air-photograph (pl. xxv a) taken in April 1946. The ditches are continued round the east end of the barrow, an unusual feature proved in the long barrow at Holdenhurst, near Christchurch, Hants, excavated by our Fellow Prof. Stuart Piggott (*Proc. Prehistoric Society*, 1937, pp. 1-14). No indications of structures or burial-pits can be detected within the east end of the mound, which is therefore of the unchambered type and built of chalk rubble thrown up from the quarry ditches. The total length of the barrow is about 340 ft.; it is thus probably the longest barrow in Hampshire, the largest hitherto known being Knap Barrow, 320 ft. long. There are thirty-four long barrows in Hampshire, of which all but one are situated on the chalk; see Mr. L. V. Grinsell's list in *Proc. Hants Field Club*, vol. xiv.

In the same field a short distance east of the long barrow is an unrecorded round barrow. It is about 80 ft. in diameter and 3 ft. high, now much reduced by ploughing.

A Bone Implement from the gravel at Somersham, Huntingdonshire.—Dr. J. R. Garrood, Local Secretary for Huntingdonshire, sends the following note:—The implement illustrated (pl. xxv b) came from the gravel at a depth of from 2 to 2½ ft. at Park Hall Road, Somersham. It was found by Mr. R. W. Charter when digging gravel about 1930: it is in the Huntingdon Museum, no. 1229.

The implement is made of fossil bone pointed at one end and flattened at the other, cream-coloured with patches of light brown stain. There are a number of small linear marks at right angles to its long axis which look like cuts: it is curved both antero-posteriorly and laterally and is 173 mm. (6·8 in.) long, 2 × 1·3 mm. thick at the centre. The bevels at the base are unequal, one being 70 and the other 40 mm. long. The point is somewhat rounded and polished as though through use; the base is also rounded and smooth. A small scale has flaked off the point, but otherwise the tool appears very little abraded; there are a number of longitudinal cracks, but I treated it with celluloid when I got it and they have not spread. Before treatment the tongue adhered to the surface as it does now and it had the appearance of fossil bone.

The gravel at Somersham is that of the Ouse valley. At other places we find Lower Palaeolithic implements and the bones of mammoth, rhinoceros, horse, hippopotamus, reindeer, red deer, and *Bos primigenius*, while from Somersham we have mammoth and *Bos*. The bones are fossilized and come from the lower part of the gravel. Fossil bone is very brittle and cannot be worked. Mr. Charter is an experienced gravel-digger and his estimate of the depth is likely to be fairly accurate.

In view of these facts it would appear that the implement may be of the Upper Palaeolithic period, though it is not impossible that it is later. This type of bevelled based point seems to occur chiefly in cave deposits, and I thought its occurrence in the gravel worth recording.

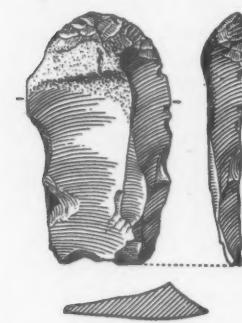
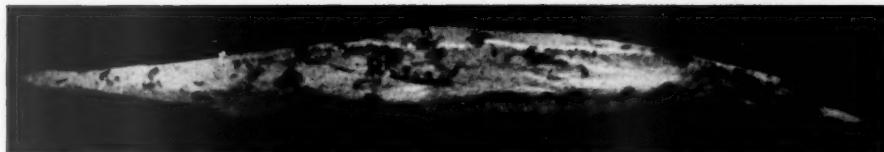
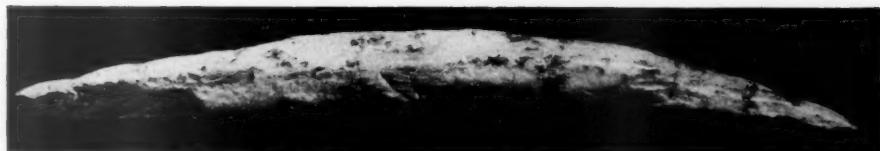


FIG. 2. Flint scraper from
Long Barrow, South
Wonston (1)



a. Long Barrow at South Wonston, Hants. Air view from south-east



b. Bone implement from the gravel at Somersham, Hunts. ($\frac{3}{4}$)

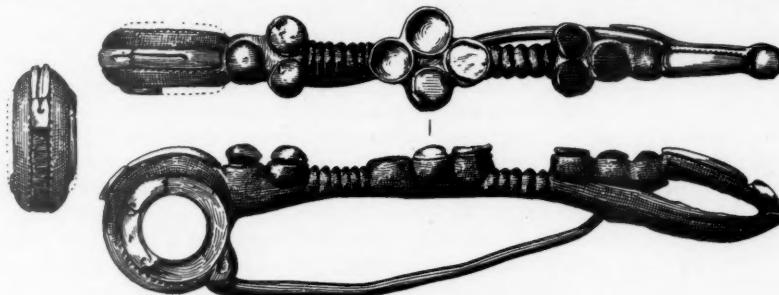


CENTIMETRES
INCHES

A Celtic brooch from Danes' Graves, Kilham, Yorks. ($\frac{1}{2}$)
(Photographs by University of London Institute of Archaeology)

An unpublished Celtic brooch from Danes' Graves, Kilham, Yorks.—This remarkable brooch was exhibited to the Society on 9th May 1946, by Mr. C. F. C. Hawkes, F.S.A., on behalf of the Hull Municipal Museums, whose Director, Mr. J. B. Fay, has kindly enabled him to publish the following note upon it here (with Pl. xxvi).

The brooch was bequeathed to the Hull Museums in 1945, with other objects, by the late Miss Agnes Mortimer, the daughter of J. R. Mortimer who drew all the illustrations to her father's well-known volume *Forty Years' Researches in British and Saxon Burial-Mounds of East Yorkshire*; thus it has now rejoined, in the Mortimer Museum at Carr Lane, Hull, the main body of his collection, from which he had separated it as a personal gift to her soon after he obtained it. The record of its discovery, however, has been carefully preserved. It was found in August 1900, 'in the field on the west side of' the famous group of Iron Age barrows called Danes' Graves, near Kilham in the East Yorkshire Wolds, and was brought to Mortimer at once



Decorated bronze brooch, Danes' Graves, Kilham, Yorks. (f)

for his collection, then at Driffield. The Danes' Graves barrows are, or were, small individually but immensely numerous. Many by then had been levelled into the fields, and it may be presumed that the brooch comes from one thus destroyed, and is the only surviving relic of a barrow-burial by inhumation, like the many found here intact throughout the half-century of intermittent excavation which had culminated, under Mortimer's own direction, in the preceding year 1899.¹

The brooch is 4·25 in. long (10·85 cm.). It is of cast bronze, now bearing a patina mostly light green and slightly corroded (darker and smooth only on the pin-shank and beneath the foot), and is embellished with mountings of ornamental materials on the head, the bow, and the foot. The bow, which is of nearly circular cross-section, slightly flattened beneath, and decorated round the rest of the circumference of its stem by a neat corrugation of ring-mouldings, has this stem expanded above at its centre into a quatrefoil excrescence, formed of four hemispherical cup-shaped seatings, each to hold an ornamental boss of whitish material. Two of these bosses are missing, but the other two remain (though the top of that nearest the foot has been broken off, apparently at or since the brooch's discovery, and the edge of what remains of it has been partly stained green by the bronze). Against the head, the bow is likewise expanded into a trefoil excrescence formed of three similar seatings, in which all three bosses remain. These five remaining bosses are individually not quite uniform or regular, some being larger, some smaller, in relation to the diameter of the seatings, in which they are held by an adhesive substance which seems to have been renewed with glue since the brooch's discovery; their surface varies in colour from cream to pale-brownish, and is polished but here and there naturally gnarled like a pebble's. Their material has been examined by Dr. A. A. Moss, of the British Museum Research Laboratories, and is reported by him to be a 'white stone, of the nature of tufa or travertine'.

¹ Greenwell in *Archaeologia*, lx, pt. 1, 254–65; Mortimer, *Forty Years' Researches*, lxxxi, 359.

The foot of the brooch is cast in a shape which reproduces the bent-back foot characteristic of most Celtic brooches of the La Tène family. A fine horizontal line grooves its tip into the semblance of a pair of lips, and directly above this it expands into a single cup-shaped seating, retaining another white stone boss, similar to those just described (with one slight chip, and flecked with green from the bronze). Above this again, the 'bent-back' member has its upper surface hollowed lengthwise to receive a narrow oblong strip of a whitish ornamental material (now stained almost wholly green by the bronze), which will be described in a moment together with the similar strips on the head of the brooch. The foot then expands upwards into a single knob-like moulding, which divides the strip just noticed from the junction of the foot with the bow. The junction takes the form of a trefoil excrescence corresponding to, but somewhat more closely-set than, that already described at the head end of the bow. It has the same arrangement of cup-shaped seatings; but the bosses which remain in all three of these are not of white stone but of a dark brownish-red material which Dr. Moss has found to be 'a resin, possibly amber'.

Beneath this excrescence and the adjoining moulding, on the right-hand side, is the catch. To form it the lower member of the foot is expanded into a trough in the usual manner; however, the pin-point cannot have been intended to engage with the full length of this, but only with its upper end, which alone is splayed at a sufficient angle for the purpose. The point is in fact so engaged now; and although its shank seems a little out of shape, the pin quite clearly was never meant to be straight, like that of an ordinary La Tène brooch, but was gently curved outwards and downwards, and for that reason must always have engaged with the catch at some such angle as it now displays.

The structural character of the brooch will become better apparent from consideration of the head. There is no coiled spring: instead, the head is of the ring-shaped type found in one form or another on a number of other distinctively British brooches datable in the three centuries before the Roman Conquest. In origin this type is altogether functional: it is a ring-shaped hinge or pivot device for attaching to the brooch a pin, made separately from it, which shall so be conveniently movable without the liability to distortion inherent in the coiled-spring mode of attachment. The device¹ scarcely appears on ordinary convex-bowed brooches: the Maiden Castle decorated brooch,² for instance, has only a drum-shaped head 'vestigially' imitating a spring-coil, with the pin pivoted on a peg held between two small projections underneath; the recently published Wood Eaton brooch³ has it, but in very simple form. It is characteristic above all of the well-known British 'involved' family, most familiar from the Beckley (Oxon.) specimen,⁴ to Sir Cyril Fox's list of which⁵ Jacobsthal has noted four recent additions.⁶

Two of those additions (of iron) come from the barrow-cemetery at Eastburn, close to and resembling the barrows of Danes' Graves,⁷ and the two longest-known of the whole 'involved' group are of course the larger and smaller bronze specimens from Danes' Graves itself, published by Greenwell in 1906.⁸ In the smaller of these the pin-head consists of two equal and parallel rings which fit on either side of the ring-shaped head of the brooch, and which pivot around it, held by a short bronze tube passed through all three rings and hammered over on either side like an eyelet-rivet. In the larger the pin-head is itself held between two equal and parallel plates riveted to the brooch-head, and moves singly on an iron pivot passing through all three, with

¹ Sir Cyril Fox, *Arch. Cambr.* 1927, 89–96; Jacobsthal, *Antiq. Journ.* xxiv, 122.

² Fox, *op. cit.* 93, fig. 25, whence Wheeler, *Maiden Castle, Dorset*, 257, fig. 82.

³ V.C.H. Oxon. i, pl. 12, b; Jacobsthal, *op. cit.* 122–3, with pl. xi, 6–8.

⁴ *Archaeologia*, lxvi, 570–2; the only correct illustration, however, is V.C.H. Oxon. i, 260, fig.

¹⁷ c: see Jacobsthal, *op. cit.* 123, n. 2.

⁵ *Arch. Cambr.* 1927, 91 ff.

⁶ Jacobsthal, *op. cit.* 122, n. 1.

⁷ *Yorks. Arch. Journ.* xxxiv, pl. opp. p. 37, fig. 1.

⁸ *Archaeologia*, lx, pt. 1, 266–8, fig. 13 (the larger; in the Yorkshire Museum, York) and fig. 14 (the smaller; in the British Museum: *E.I.A. Guide*, fig. 130).

ring-shaped embellishments, described by Greenwell as of 'vitreous paste', attached externally on either side: the idea of a functional ring-hinge has thus here been largely discarded.

In our present brooch it has been discarded altogether. The head belongs to the ring-shaped type only in outward form. Three parts of the way round the ring, its circumference expands on each side into a small segment-shaped projection pierced at the centre for a transverse peg of plain bronze, and on this, secured between the pair of projections, moves the pin-head, which is simply the end of the pin-shank bent up and round into a loop just big enough to ride freely on the peg. The device is just like that on the Maiden Castle brooch above noticed: only, while there it is combined with a head vestigially imitating the old spring-coil, here it is combined with one vestigially imitating the ring-hinge device by which the spring-coil itself was in these brooches superseded. The head of our brooch, in fact, preserves the leading features of the discarded ring-hinge as well-marked formal vestiges. The central opening of its ring is deliberately tube-shaped, with a sharp edge round each end, and though of course cast in one with the rest of the head, clearly imitates the functional tube exemplified on the smaller 'involute' brooch from Danes' Graves just described. Moreover, the outer circumference of the head-ring, between its two sides, is channelled into a deep groove which runs from close against the trefoil excrescence at this end of the bow right round to merge into the hollow between the pair of projections just noticed as securing the pin-head. And in this groove, beginning just clear of the pin-head and passing round to a point diametrically opposite to it, is fixed an ornamental half-hoop of iron. The intention of this can only be to make it appear that the pin has a large iron ring-head, secured between the two equally ring-shaped halves of the brooch-head, as though pivoting on the false tube just described.

However, this vestigial treatment of the circumference is not carried out completely. For in the upper quadrant of the same groove (both edges of which quadrant are ornamenteally knurled), adjoining the trefoil excrescence on the bow-end, is placed a curved oblong strip of the same whitish ornamental substance as we have noticed already (stained green by the bronze) on the 'bent-back' member of the foot. This purely decorative addition of course makes the conventional nature of the iron 'ring'-vestige in the rest of the groove quite obvious, and shows that the maker was treating the whole head-ring scheme now purely ornamenteally. And on each side of the head-ring, between the outer circumference and the edge of the central 'tube', is a circular groove, shallow and flattish in cross-section, and with its outer margin ornamenteally knurled all round (except in the quadrant between bow and pin): in this groove arc-shaped strips of the same whitish material have been fixed to form a composite ring-embellishment, resembling unitary 'paste' embellishments (these, themselves knurled) in the same position on the larger Danes' Graves 'involute' brooch. They are now reduced to one fragment only on the left side and two on the right. They are retained by adhesive substance like that used for the bosses on the bow. And as for the material of which they and those on the circumference and the foot of the brooch are made, Dr. Moss reports that it is certainly not coral, 'paste', nor tufa, but 'presumably shell, possibly *dentalium*'. Since the shape and character of *dentalium* shell seem clearly evident in the surviving fragments, the presumption appears to be a safe one.

If, then, as is usually assumed, the primary substance used by the La Tène schools of Celtic artificers for decorative mountings was coral, this brooch has no less than three different substitutes for that exotic material, all of them obtainable locally in Britain: tufa, or a like stone, amber or some similar resin, and *dentalium* shell. Since the brooch is a large and ambitious one on which one would expect the choicest ornaments available, this suggests that it belongs to a time when Yorkshire could not obtain Mediterranean coral, and had not begun the regular use of enamel, even in the form of attached bosses as on the Bugthorpe discs.¹ Jacobsthal has recently assigned the earliest phase of the specifically British development of Celtic art in Britain, to

¹ British Museum, E.I.A. Guide, fig. 125.

which he assigns the Maiden Castle and Wood Eaton brooches already mentioned, the Newnham chariot-burial and Red Hill bird-brooch, and the Beckley and Danes' Graves 'involved' brooches, around a point late in the second quarter of the third century B.C.¹ And a date in the phase next following that is indicated for our brooch not only by its 'substitute' embellishments but by the vestigial character of its head-ring structure. There is also a third point: the extremely flattened form of the bow, here necessitating a down-curving pin (as already noticed, and as seen also on the Maiden Castle, Wood Eaton, and Newnham brooches, as well of course as in the whole 'involved' series) was pointed out by Sir Cyril Fox in his 1927 paper to be a specifically British feature, starting from the flattest forms of continental La Tène brooch current in the first half of the third century B.C., and continuing with bow and pin as two virtually parallel straight lines.² Whatever the precise dating of individual specimens of that class, the tendency is clearly one that in Jacobsthal's 'earliest phase' was only beginning. Our brooch shows it fairly far advanced as regards the bow, but in combination with a curved pin and ill-adapted catch which suggest that the maker was trying to experiment rather than happily reproducing an established model. This line of argument again brings one to a date which will be after the 'earliest phase', but not long enough after it for its original impulses to have disappeared. Obviously there will be no hard-and-fast dividing line between such an 'earliest phase' and its successor; but roughly speaking, the date of our brooch seems likely to be after 250 B.C. and towards 200.

That it is not later is argued by its obvious insistence upon features which ally it to the 'earliest phase'; and two more of these remain to be noticed. It retains the sharply 'bent-back' foot of the continental La Tène convention, despite the unsuitability to it of the shape thereby necessitated for the catch—a difficulty from which the 'involved' brooches of course escaped. Certainly it has foot-end and bow cast in one, in a manner that in continental typology would be La Tène II, succeeding to the free foot-end of La Tène I; but the 'involved' brooches also have this, and so, in their different ways, do the Newnham and Wood Eaton brooches above mentioned. Its affinity with the Newnham brooch³ may be seen also in the quatrefoil and trefoil arrangements of bosses on its bow, which recall those on the Newnham bow and foot. And here it has one very close parallel from Danes' Graves, not yet mentioned, found by Mortimer in the 1897 excavations above mentioned. This is the 'wheel-headed' pin,⁴ now in the Yorkshire Museum, York, in which such a boss-embellished quatrefoil forms a hub and spokes in openwork within the wheel head; moreover, the circumference of the wheel is faced with a composite ring of inlay formed of arc-shaped strips of whitish ornamental material, just like the sides of the head-ring of our brooch; the bronze of its outer edge is likewise ornamentally knurled; and on the 'swan-neck' between its wheel head and shank it has a single boss like that on our brooch's foot. The material of its bosses and strips has always been described as coral, as has that embellishing the Hammer-smith pin often compared with it,⁵ and that on another northern brooch which must not be forgotten, that from the Harborough Cave near Brassington, Derbyshire.⁶ Reginald Smith, who placed the Danes' Graves pin in the third century B.C.,⁷ would not allow the Harborough brooch to be so early, because it has discarded all earlier conventions in having its pin attached by

¹ *Antiq. Journ.* xxiv, 123–4.

² *Arch. Camb.* 1927, 89–96; whence Kendrick and Hawkes, *Arch. in England and Wales* 1914–31, 169–71, fig. 66.

³ Drawing: *V.C.H. Cambs.* i, 294, fig. 26 b, whence Clark, *Prehistoric England*, fig. 82; photograph: Fox, *Arch. Camb. Reg.* 81, pls. xv, 5, xviii, 2x; *Antiq. Journ.* vi, 176–7, pl. xxviii, 2.

⁴ Mortimer in *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* xvii (1898), 120 (fig.); *Forty Years' Researches*, 363–4, fig. 1023;

Archaeologia, lx, pt. 1, 269, fig. 17; Romilly Allen, *Celtic Art in Pagan and Christian Times*, 107–8, with plate; Leeds, *Celtic Ornament*, 43; Dunning in *Arch. Journ.* xc, 274.

⁵ *Archaeologia*, *ibid.* fig. 18; British Museum, *E.I.A. Guide*, fig. 108.

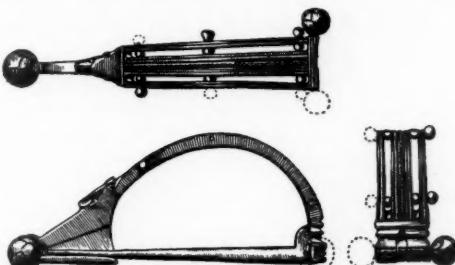
⁶ Reginald Smith in *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* xxii (1908), 138 ff., 142, fig. 19; Leeds, *Celtic Ornament*, 43, fig. 17.

⁷ *Op. cit.* 143–4.

a simple peg, below a flat head-plate. We have seen how our brooch has the same thing, but keeping the ring-hinge convention vestigially in its head: thus, typologically, it is the immediate predecessor of Harborough, and if Smith was right in dating Harborough after 200 B.C., that would suit the dating here suggested for our brooch very well. However, whether the ornamental material on the Harborough and other pieces mentioned is really coral, or how far, where not coral, it is really 'vitreous paste' as Greenwell thought, and not ornamental stone or shell such as Dr. Moss has shown to have been used together with amber on our brooch, remains to be investigated. If his identifications of these 'substitute' materials on it come as something of a surprise, they should be also a stimulus towards the laboratory examination of all such decorative substances used in Celtic ornament, which archaeologists have too often imagined to be safely identifiable by inspection and reference to a conventional text-book.

In itself, finally, the new Danes' Graves brooch is impressive rather than beautiful, imposing rather than graceful. But it is certainly one of the most interesting Celtic ornaments of its time.

A Silver Fibula from Colchester.—Mr. E. J. W. Hildyard, F.S.A., sends the following note:—In view of the forthcoming *Camulodunum* report it might be opportune to call attention to a silver fibula attributed to Colchester and here illustrated. I first saw the brooch at the sale at Sotheby's of the collection of our late Fellow, Dr. Arthur Relph, in June 1936, but it was not until nearly seven years later that I succeeded in acquiring it. In the same lot in the original sale were included 'a bronze coin of Cunobelin inscribed CVNOBELINVS, and an uninscribed British



Silver brooch from Colchester (1)

silver coin, all found at Colchester'. It is a reasonable assumption that all these pieces were found together.

The brooch is in silver and shows careful workmanship and finish. The bow is divided into three limbs, the centre one wider than the others and decorated with broken cable ornament. Three transverse spindles unite the limbs each bearing four knobs, two between the limbs and two externally. There are larger, decorated knobs on the head and foot. The pin is hinged. At the base of the bow a Dog's head provides an unusual feature. The divided bow brooch (Collingwood Group U), though common on the Continent, is rare in Britain and when it does appear as at Corbridge,¹ Aldborough,² and Richborough³ is usually the third-century type which is otherwise quite different from the early specimens with an Aucissa-like profile.⁴ Mr. M. R. Hull has noted a number of these latter in the Rhineland Museums and distinguishes two groups which are, he says, 'almost identical except that in one the bow is divided and in the other it is longitu-

¹ *Arch. Ael.*, 3rd series, v, 98; vii, 184.

² Aldborough Museum.

³ *Richborough II*, 43, and pl. xvii.

⁴ One of these did appear in the Romano-Belgic level, A.D. 25–70, at Maiden Castle (*Maiden Castle*, fig. 85, no. 30).

dinally moulded. Both have small round knobs on the sides.¹ The solid bow type appears at Colchester in one specimen.¹ Mr. Hull has also called my attention to a pair of divided bow brooches from an early first-century grave at Urmitz. In these the bow is divided into five limbs and is therefore broader than the specimen here shown, the centre limb is wider than the others and is ornamented and there are five transverse spindles each bearing six knobs. The profile is exactly similar to the Colchester specimen. At the Trinovantian court fine imported silverware appears to have been popular, to judge from the contents of the Lexden tumulus; there seems no reason, therefore, to doubt that this brooch is another relic from the same source and period.

Capitals from the Cloister of Hyde Abbey.—Mr. F. Warren, F.S.A., contributes the following:—An interesting note in *The Antiquaries Journal*, xxv, 79, deals with ‘Capitals from the Cloister of Hyde Abbey’. The third paragraph refers to a damaged capital ‘apparently re-used as a pillar-piscina or stoup and now in the church porch’. This capital was dug up in the then garden of 85 High Street, Winchester, in 1879, on premises occupied more than a century ago by the Governor of the Winchester Prison. There is no need to enlarge upon the possible connexion with the County Bridewell built on the site of Hyde Abbey in 1789. May I correct from local knowledge the statement that the shaft on which the capital now stands in the church porch is a portion of the cloister arcade of Hyde Abbey, a statement which appears also in *V.C.H. Hampshire*? My father, who gave the capital to Hyde church, told me that the shaft came from Winchester Cathedral and was a gift of the then Chapter Clerk, Mr. F. Bowker, and that the moulded base with spur ornament is modern. This minor correction is written from my office, within a few feet of the site where the ‘damaged capital’ was dug up.

¹ *Camulodunum*, no. 139.

REVIEWS

Ancient India: Bulletin of the Archaeological Survey of India, Number 1, January 1946.

Dr. R. E. M. Wheeler, resigning his Brigadiership and turning from war to peace, left England for India to take up the Director-Generalship of Archaeology in 1944, with the warm good wishes of his friends; it seemed certain to us, that if reorganization and an infusion of new techniques hammered out by himself and others in Britain during the inter-war period were required in that sub-Continent, our late Director was the man for the job.

The magnitude of the problem to be faced by the Archaeological Survey of India is underlined by a change he made early in 1946 in the venue of the office of his administration—New Delhi instead of Simla. His estimate of the situation is detailed in a memorandum recently issued from New Delhi which deals with the task of reconstruction in a vivid, competent, and urgent manner which commands attention and sympathy, and must surely inspire his colleagues and subordinates.

It is against such a background as this that the first issue of a new serial publication of the Survey, which is entitled *Ancient India*, is to be studied and appreciated.

In Dr. Wheeler's Introductory Notes it is stated that one of the objects of the new journal is to 'interest the educated Indian public in current work relating to the exploration and conservation of their great heritage of material culture'; the other is to provide 'technical matter primarily of interest to the archaeologist'. A third intention emerges from the combination; it is to familiarize the Indian archaeologist and public with the present-day standard in Britain of technique in field research and presentation, and in modern archaeological synthesis. The type and setting of the new journal is effective, and the illustrations are excellently produced; the articles are important, and deserve technical assessment which the writer is not competent to give. He may then be allowed to conclude this note by wishing the new journal a long, useful, and honourable career.

CYRIL FOX

No more than the President is any reviewer likely to feel competent to give technical assessment to all the important articles contained in the first number of *Ancient India*, for they have been wisely selected to cover a wide field, ranging in time from the third millennium B.C. to the seventeenth century of our era, and in subjects from jewellery and numismatics to the repairs to the Taj Mahal, the preservation of antiquities, and the training of excavators. The last-named theme, though touched upon only briefly, deserves emphasis here. Indian archaeology has been gravely handicapped by the lack of a personnel that has mastered modern field technique. The Archaeological Survey has neither sent members of its Indian staff to the western lands where the newest refinements can be seen in action nor yet, save for the prematurely ended engagement of Dr. Mackay, has it recruited western archaeologists familiar with the novel methods, elaborated during the last twenty years, largely by the present Director-General himself. As a heroic measure towards relieving this deplorable situation Dr. Wheeler in 1944, the very year of his arrival, set up a temporary training school at Taxila where some sixty students from all parts of India were given two months' intensive practical training in the modern methods of digging, recording, and conserving. As the Director-General says, no one expects to make an excavator in two months. But this bold initiative is symptomatic of the effect Dr. Wheeler's appointment is likely to have on archaeology in the Dominion.

So is the appearance of this new periodical, well produced, and illustrated with maps and section drawings conforming to the most exacting standards of the science and by twenty clear half-tone

plates including even an air photograph. Of its contents I feel competent to speak of only two articles.

On pages 8 to 26 Professor Piggott gives a concise but masterly survey of the Bronze Age in the Indus basin and the western provinces. By reason of its extreme compression it may seem rather heavy for the 'book-stall public', but it is certainly the best general account available of the prehistoric culture-sequence and of the western connexions of India at that period. Piggott begins with a good definition of what an archaeologist means by a 'culture'; though he uses ceramic labels for his cultures, he very properly refuses that term to a pottery class still unassociated with other archaeological traits. With this reservation he can distinguish ten groups: (1) Quetta, (2) Zhob, (3) Amri, (4) Nal, (5) Harappa, (6) Kulli, (7) Harappa cemetery H, (8) Jhukar, (9) Shahi-tump (cemetery), (10) Jhangar (I have renumbered them to approximate to a chronological order). The distinctive types of each are illustrated by neat sketches. Quetta is represented only by a hitherto unrecognized and still unpublished group of vases the decoration of which at least exhibits surprisingly close analogies to that of sherds from Bakun, near Persepolis in south-western Iran.

Stratigraphical observation has already shown that (3), (5), (8), and (10) form a sequence in the Indus basin and that (7) is later than (5)—a point not hitherto adequately emphasized. The cemetery of Shahi-tump is again demonstrably later than a culture of Kulli character, while the typical Nal material comes from graves later than a variant of the Zhob culture. The Zhob culture, within which Piggott gives reason to hope for the distinction of at least two ceramic phases, shows parallelism in the designs and forms of the pots with Amri though, in contrast to the latter, figurines are plentiful on Zhob sites. Between Kulli and Harappa agreements are noted not only in pottery, but also in toilet articles, stone vases, models, and figurines. Indeed, not the least significant of Piggott's observations is the agreement in minute details, like the relative number of bracelets on the right and left arms, between the Kulli figurines and the bronze 'dancing-girl' from Mohefijo-daro. Now this bronze statuette exhibits a poise and liveliness unparalleled elsewhere in antiquity before Hellenic times. Her authenticity as a product of Bronze Age art has accordingly been challenged despite the excavators' report. It is now surprisingly established to the confusion of stylists, the astonishment of connoisseurs, and the glory of ancient India.

Piggott is no doubt right in deducing a partial synchronism between Kulli and Harappa from the above agreements, especially as the stone vases in question seem to have been trade articles that reached not only the Indus basin but also Mesopotamia in Early Dynastic times. Nevertheless, the similarities he himself notes between some Kulli motives and the decoration of the jars from the H cemetery at Harappa might imply that Kulli outlasted Harappa rather than began before it; in fact Kulli motives have been recognized on Jhukar pottery too.

A phase of the Nal style, best represented at Nundara, agrees to some extent with Amri, but the classical pottery from the graves at the eponymous site should, judged by associated metal objects, belong to the same sort of horizon as the graves at Shahi-tump. These, as the author showed in *Antiquity* in 1943, are securely linked by seals and metal types with the Jhukar phase in the Indus valley and can be no earlier.

Having thus established, as far as extant evidence allows, the relative ages of the several Indian groups or cultures, Piggott turns to their western relations, with a view to controlling the internal evidence and obtaining some approximation to an absolute chronology. He first summarizes the culture sequence in Mesopotamia (without of course referring to the subsequently published Hassuna stages). Using the new shortened chronology of Sidney Smith he lets Early Dynastic begin about 3000 B.C.—Jacobsen, according to Braidwood, is prepared to accept a date as early as 3175. The connexions between India and Mesopotamia are, however, at first only indirect, and synchronisms depend upon an evaluation of the chronology of various sites in Iran. His

views on this and his reasons for rejecting McCown's dates for Tepe Hissar have already been expounded in *Antiquity*. The main addition to the scheme there elaborated in the present summary is provided by the really striking agreements between the ceramic decoration of Bakun and that of Quetta ware.

Piggott suggests that the authors of the Kulli culture were intruders with direct connexions farther west. So he asks whether they should not be considered a 'parallel phenomenon to the appearance of new ideas in Sumer in late Uruk times', and their culture as 'in some way ancestral to Harappa'. He has reminded us that the true origins of the Harappa civilization are unknown. I should prefer to seek them at Harappa itself rather than in barbarous hill countries, though unhappily the water-table to-day makes the relevant depths inaccessible. Amri at the moment is after all just a label for a collection of sherds from what may have been a provincial site, but it may stand for something as big as Uruk in Mesopotamia.

The articles on Ahichchhatra (pp. 37-59) are designed to illustrate the value of applying purely archaeological methods in historical periods. At the ancient Pañchala capital the excavator could distinguish nine strata; strata I to VIII (numbered from the top) are dated by the coins contained in each to periods from A.D. 1100 to 300 B.C. Each layer yielded also abundant sherds. These have been competently classified, typed, and figured by K. C. Panigrahi so as to provide at least the skeleton for an index series such as have long been available for prehistoric Egypt and the Roman Empire. It will be capable of use for dating sites where numismatic or epigraphic evidence for age is not available. One of the types from the lowest level, IX, is a fine grey ware with a highly burnished black slip, which, though undecorated, had already been recognized on other Indian sites. Its distribution is discussed and mapped in an appendix by Krishna Deva and Dr. Wheeler. This black polished ware has been found from Banghad (Bengal) on the east to Kasrawadh (Indore) in the south-west and Taxila in the north. At Taxila it again appears in layers in the Bhir mound that should be earlier than 300 B.C. The identification of this fabric thus affords one clue to guide us into the great Dark Age that separates the Indus period from the Mauryan.

Though a reviewer is expected to criticize, I can hardly go beyond spelling. My ear cannot distinguish a lingual from a dental, but presumably most of *Ancient India*'s readers can. So the Editor should see that names like Periano-gundai are decorated with the appropriate diacriticals.

V. G. CHILDE.

Excavations at Shah Tepé, Iran. By T. J. ARNE. 11 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 9 $\frac{1}{2}$. Pp. 367. *Reports from the Scientific Expedition to the North-western Provinces of China under the Leadership of Dr. Sven Hedin.* Publication 27. Stockholm, 1945.

Shah-tepé is one of the 300-odd *tells* sprinkled over the Transcaspian steppe between the Atrak river and the zone of forest that clothes the northern slopes of the Iranian plateau and the Elburz range. Professor Arne's expedition mapped these in 1933 as well as excavating this representative *tell*. The archaeological results are here published in great detail (after a preliminary report in *Acta Archaeologica*, 1935) with over 730 illustrations comprising three good colour plates. Reports on the skeletal material by C. M. Fürst and on the animal remains by J. W. Amschner had already been published in 1939 in Publication 9 of the same series.

Shah-tepé is about 8 metres high and covers an oval area of 165 by 135 m. Into it eight shafts, generally 10 m. square, were sunk. This method of excavation did not of course allow of the pursuit of floor levels nor the recovery of complete architectural remains—the buildings must have been of pisé and were, Dr. Arne supposes, deliberately levelled when they became uninhabitable. In all the shafts, however, series of superimposed burials were exposed. On the analogy of Tepé Hissar and other Iranian *tells* the excavator infers that these were placed immediately beneath the house floors so that the several levels of graves correspond normally to

successive settlements. The sequence of grave-goods, stratigraphically determined in the several shafts, gave a consistent picture and justifies the distinction of at least four main levels, numbered from the top downwards, I, II_a, II_b, and III; on the strength mainly of ceramic types represented apparently in only two graves and by sherds from corresponding levels in the settlement, Arne believes he can distinguish also an intermediate period between III and II described as 'III/II_b'.

The topmost layer is Islamic of the eighth century (judging by the coins). The lower layers represent four prehistoric periods if we admit III/II_b. The cultures represented in them correspond generally, especially in ceramics, to those familiar from the American excavations at Tepé Hissar on the opposite side of the Elburz range near Damghan, but are still less like those of Anau, east of the Kopet Dagh. Thus in III we have some red-ware vases with designs in black paint as in Hissar I c and one sherd of buff ware adorned with a six-pointed rosette that may be an actual import. Nevertheless, no other patterns distinctive of Hissar I occur, grey ware already predominates absolutely, and 'seals' are missing. An exceptionally important find is a clay mould for casting what seems to be a shaft-hole adze or hoe. The photographs of this object are not very illuminating and the concisely written description inevitably lacks clarity, but if my interpretation be correct it represents the easternmost known example of this very characteristic 'early Sumerian' type. Its extension to northern Iran thus attested simplifies the interpretation of the axe-adzes from Hissar III b and c (that were cast in clay moulds of just the same kind) and Mohefjo-daro; admitting that axe-adzes result from combining in one casting axe and adze, there is now no need to try to derive the Iranian and Indian specimens from Hungary or the Balkans.

The mould is by no means incompatible with the parallelism between Shah-tepé III and Hissar I postulated by Arne; on the contrary, not only was metal worked intelligently in Hissar I, but also from Sialk III, that is parallel to Hissar I, Ghirshman got a shaft-hole hoe of precisely the kind that could be produced in the Shah-tepé mould. Nevertheless Donald McCown (*The Comparative Stratigraphy of Early Iran*, pp. 54–6) has drawn attention to the fact that knobbed ware which occurs, albeit seldom, in Shah-tepé III belongs in the south to Hissar II b as do the common 'oval jars'. Arne, on the other hand, wishes to equate the transitional layer III/II_b with Hissar II. But this layer is not too well defined stratigraphically, and the supposedly distinctive types have not very specific analogues in Hissar II; the pedestalled bowls ('fruit-stands') with a bulbous enlargement of the foot just below the bowl are not represented at Hissar at all but recall forms of Alişar Chalcolithic and the Harappa civilization of India, while beak-spouted jars occur in Hissar III b as well as in II. Both these types are already decorated by stroke-burnishing, a style of decoration characteristic of II; it was little used at Hissar and only in III. The total absence from Shah-tepé of the pins with double-spiral heads such as occur so often in Hissar II and III and widely from Anau and Chañhu-daro to Greece and Bulgaria is a striking fact already noted by McCown.

Side-spouted jars and tea-pots in grey ware and dippers from II_b agree well with Hissar III b, but it is noticeable that true handles were by this phase more freely used on the steppe than on the plateau. Still in general, though substantially poorer in metal and fayence, Shah-tepé II b agrees fairly well with Hissar III a–b (especially b). Towards its end appear 'wands' and immediately thereafter tall 'canteens' (amphorae), alabaster vases, a miniature axe-adze (of copper alloyed with lead), an etched carnelian bead, and apparently a fiddle-shaped figurine of stone (it was actually found in stratum I, but is evidently related to a bowl with breasts on the upright handle from II a, though this might also be compared to the 'granny pots' of Kish cemetery A) such as are characteristic of Hissar III c. Indeed, though much poorer, the culture of Shah-tepé II a may be regarded as the same as that of Hissar III c.

Unfortunately, in default of certain datable imports, these parallelisms cannot be converted into precise synchronisms; we cannot say whether any given phase at Shah-tepé were a little

earlier or a little later than the parallel phase on the plateau. The etched carnelian bead found about the middle of II *a* is doubtless an import; with its net pattern of polygons enclosing small rings, it agrees more precisely with specimens from Ur and Mohenjo-daro than do those from Hissar III, but the chronological range of such beads is admittedly rather vague. Still this bead does to some extent favour the high dating of Hissar III advocated independently by Prof. Arne, by Col. Piggott, and by Dr. McCown, as against a date in the second millennium favoured by the excavator, Schmidt.

Many other points of general interest emerge from this full and scholarly publication. At all times sling-bullets are common while arrow-heads are non-existent—a peculiarity common to many other early cultures in Hither Asia and south-eastern Europe. Polished stone celts were very little used; in fact only one was found—an adze in II—as generally all over Iran. On the other hand, clay models from III onwards demonstrate a familiarity with wheels that imply also carpentry. Beads of lapis lazuli appear already in III but are rare at all levels. As Arne remarks, a simple bone pin from a grave in II *a*, which contained also a pair of lock-rings and two boat-shaped ear-rings, is decorated with hatched zigzag bands such as adorn hammer-pins from the Pontic steppes. Connexions with this region, that is separated from the Turkoman steppe only by the Caspian, would not be surprising. It may be recalled that the celebrated tomb at Maikop on the Kuban contained grey pottery technically reminiscent of the undecorated ware from Shah-tepé and Tepé Hissar.

Amschler's investigations show that the bones of game animals are much commoner in III than in II, by which time hunting seems to have become relatively unimportant. They include the skull of an ox of the *brachyceros* type that Amschler considers to be a representative of the wild species from which the early domestic cattle of western Europe were descended; he believes that this wild stock was not confined to Asia but once existed in Europe too. The domestic stock included besides short-horned cattle, sheep, and swine also the horse, the ass, and the camel. These three draught animals are represented by only one bone each from III and very few from II, so that the diagnosis of domestication or variety is necessarily rather precarious. Still as far as horse and camel be concerned the evidence from Shah-tepé now comes to confirm the thirty-year-old conclusions drawn from Anau.

The human remains belong throughout to a dolicho- to meso-cranial type without a single brachycephal, just as do those from Hissar, Sialk, and the earlier levels of Alişar. After summarizing his countryman's sane and cautious conclusions and Vallois's account of the population of Iran, apropos of the material from Tepé Sialk, Arne discusses the verdict of Nazi 'science' set forth in Reche's *Rasse und Heimat der Indogermanen*, 1936. 'On the basis of photographs of 3 crania from Shah Tepé, Prof. O. Reche has declared that one sees at a glance that we have here to do with Europeans without any specifically Mongoloid features. The crania do not show a single feature that in any way distinguishes them from the characteristic nordic form. These European skeletons prove that Turkestan has been populated by *North European agriculturalists from the Lower Danube countries*.' (Arne's italics, I suppose.) He goes on to remark that the three crania in question are the least dolichocephalic in the whole collection. Their measurements 'indicate a slenderer type than the "nordic" one; it agrees more closely with the Mediterranean type whose skull according to Reche is "verhältnismässig klein, glatt und zierlich".'

V. GORDON CHILDE.

Archaic Attic Gravestones. By G. M. A. RICHTER. Martin Classical Lectures, vol. 10, 8½ x 5½. Pp. xvi + 160. Harvard University Press, 1944. London: Humphrey Milford, 1944. 14s.

The Metropolitan Museum in New York has one of the leading classical archaeologists of the world as its Curator of Classical Antiquities. This not only means that a very high proportion

of the good classical antiquities that from time to time become available (including archaic Attic gravestones) find their way into the Metropolitan Museum, but that a steady stream of very sound scholarship issues from the Museum; *The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks* and *The Craft of Athenian Pottery* have long been necessary possessions of any classical library. The book on '*Kouros*' is obviously of major importance and the new volume of Martin Lectures, though limited in scale and scope, is wholly admirable.

Miss Richter excludes painted pots, chests with terra-cotta plaques, and statues from her study which is confined to stone shafts or stelai. These can be traced back in Athens to the tenth century when stone slabs are found beside painted pots in graves, and in Homeric times stelai were placed on the top of funeral mounds. The typical early Athenian monument consists of rectangular base, rectangular shaft tapering slightly, cavetto capital, Sphinx; Miss Richter notes on the Sphinx that 'her association with gravestones suggests that ultimately she was a spirit of death. Her transformation into a beautiful guardian of the tomb is typically Greek.' During the second quarter of the sixth century it became customary to decorate the shafts with reliefs, often of the dead man or of mourners or attendants. Miss Richter naturally discusses at length the very important stele in New York with a young athlete and his sister on the shaft; it is 'the only example that has survived complete with base, shaft, capital, and crowning sphinx'. A likely restoration suggests that this was a memorial to a Megakles and his sister; as he was presumably a member of the Alcmaeonid family, who were in exile from about 541 to about 525 B.C., Miss Richter inclines to a date about 540 B.C.; I have not seen the original, but from photographs I am very loath to believe that the Sphinx is earlier than Kore 678 or even much earlier than Kore 683; I should be much happier with a date about 520 B.C.

The two most difficult questions, to which Miss Richter does not pretend to provide a satisfactory solution, are, first, Why does the form of the stele change during the second half of the century?—the Sphinxes vanish in favour of a palmette finial carved in one piece with the stele; secondly, Why did the carving of gravestones practically cease in Attica from 500 to 450 B.C.? A possible explanation Miss Richter finds in a sumptuary law quoted by Cicero from Demetrius of Phalerum as having been passed some time after Solon. The first change I suspect to be a change in taste; a Sphinx no longer meant anything as an everlasting bearer of memory; for the new Athenian his own portrait was memorial enough. Was the second change part of that puritan movement which swept Greece in the first half of the fifth century B.C. and is best known to us from Aeschylus, Pindar, and the sculpture of Olympia? If so, the sumptuary law (like its descendant passed by Demetrius of Phalerum) was an expression either of the change of taste (which seems to me less likely) or of the puritan movement.

T. B. L. WEBSTER

Studies in Roman Imperial Art, with special reference to the state reliefs of the second century. By GUSTAF HAMBERG. Pp. 202, with 44 plates. Uppsala, 1945. £3. 6s.

We are indebted to Sweden for an important and illuminating new study of the great official reliefs of Flavian, Trajanic, and Antonine times. The underlying idea of this book, that works of Roman art should be approached both from the conceptual and from the formal angle, is not in itself new. But Dr. Hamberg can certainly claim to have worked out in greater detail and with more precision than his predecessors the relation between the artistic imagery of the monuments and their political and social background.

Starting with numismatics, as the basis of study in every field of Roman archaeology and art, the author discusses different modes of expressing the same theme as illustrated by two sets of imperial coin-types, those portraying *concordia-fides*, as representative of abstract ideas, on the one hand, and those depicting *liberalitas-congiarium*, as representative of a recurrent ceremonial act,

on the other. I cannot always agree in every detail with the distinctions and parallels which he draws between the various designs; nor do all his interpretations of the types carry conviction. But no one will dispute his main thesis, that coin-types provide most striking instances of that interplay of straightforward narrative and poetic paraphrase, of human and divine characters, of historical figures and abstract personifications, which is so constant a feature of the great reliefs.

Dr. Hamberg's second chapter contains his 'studies in the grand tradition in imperial representation: the historic event in allegory and realistic description'. He selects for detailed analysis the Domitianic reliefs discovered at the end of 1928 in the garden of the Palazzo della Cancelleria in Rome; the *adventus*-scene in the great Trajanic frieze, now on the Arch of Constantine; the attic reliefs on the city side of Trajan's Arch at Beneventum; and eight of the eleven extant Aurelian panels. The evolution of this 'grand tradition' is traced with keen observation and great sensitiveness: the study of the Cancelleria reliefs introduces us to new material; and many fresh points, both of style and content, emerge to enrich our understanding of the well-known scenes. But here again some of the author's interpretations provoke criticism. For instance, the Amazonian figure in the Domitianic *profectio*-, Trajanic *adventus*-, and Aurelian triumph-scene is surely not Roma but Virtus, travelling to the 'front' with the Emperor, in the first case, and in the other two leading him home. Nor can I agree that Domitian's apparent hesitation in the Cancelleria *profectio*-scene represents an attempt to foist upon the gods responsibility for an unpopular war: as I see it, it is awe at the presence of his heavenly patrons which gives him pause. Again, the 'tradition of the *fulmen*' in the attic of the Beneventum Arch depicts, not Trajan's *profectio* to the Parthian 'front', but his whole 'vocation' as Emperor, when Juppiter delegates to him authority to govern the *genus humanum*, for peace as well as for war, as his vicar on earth. Trajan's posture is that of one, not departing, but shrinking back in awe at the responsibilities of the office conferred upon him; we note, too, that he is togate, not dressed for war or travel.

Perhaps the most interesting section of the book is Chapter III, in which Dr. Hamberg discusses the 'epic-documentary tradition' on the Columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius and in the great Trajanic frieze. Dr. Hamberg, I am glad to find, shares my own failure to be convinced by Lehmann-Hartleben's attempt (*Die Trajanssäule*, pp. 121-3) to deny the term 'continuous style' to the essentially continuous, unified, running frieze of Trajan's Column, on the ground that it was ultimately based on individual, typical scenes from army life. Rightly, too, to my mind, does he reject both Bianchi Bandinelli's theory (*Le Arti*, 1938-9, pp. 325-34) of the fundamentally western, provincial, 'popular', and non-Hellenic derivation of these reliefs and the commonly held view (e.g. C. M. Dawson, *Roman-Campanian Mythological Landscape Painting*, ch. ii) of the triumphal paintings (doubtless based, as were the reliefs themselves, on war-time artists' sketches) as an exclusively Roman phenomenon. But I cannot concur in his approval of den Tex's interpretation of the *mons et locus* of the column's inscription as referring to a gigantic trophy, a mountain of war-spoils, reared on the spot which the column afterwards occupied (*Mededeelingen van het Nederlandsch Historisch Instituut te Rome*, viii, 1938, pp. 27 ff.).

Chapter IV contains a particularly excellent analysis of the evolution of the battle-motif on Antonine sarcophagi.

In conclusion, Dr. Hamberg wisely abandons the attempt to discover in the style and technique of the monuments the Roman element in imperial art. True Romanitas lies in the political, social, and moral conceptions which imperial artists, bearers of a living, all-pervading, and ever-developing Greek artistic tradition, translated into plastic form in the great official reliefs.

The forty-four plates are of a very high standard. Unfortunately we cannot say the same of the English version, although readers who, like the present reviewer, have no Swedish must be sincerely grateful for its existence.

J. M. C. TOYNBEE

La Sculpture à l'époque romaine (L'Art en Belgique). By M. E. MARIËN. Pp. 33, with 32 plates. Brussels, 1945.

It was a happy idea to include a booklet on Roman-age sculpture in the 'L'Art en Belgique' series. The notable contribution of south-eastern Belgium to provincial imperial art is here revealed to us in a lucid and interesting essay and in a set of excellent plates, each accompanied by a brief explanatory text. Eighteen of the twenty-seven monuments reproduced are in the museum at Arlon (Orolaunum), which can bear comparison with Neumagen on the Moselle as one of the leading centres of sculpture among the Treviri in the first three centuries A.D. The art of stone-carving was first stimulated in this district in the Augustan age by military artists, mainly north Italian by origin, detailed to execute funerary monuments for legionaries and auxiliaries manning the Rhine frontier. These artists also found patrons among the rapidly romanized and commercially prosperous civilian population; and there soon grew up local schools of sculpture, essentially decorative, 'linear', and non-plastic, especially in the treatment of drapery, as regards technique, and, as regards content, drawing far less on the mythological repertory of classical metropolitan art than on the everyday life of the well-to-do business folk and landowners who formed the upper strata of provincial society. During the first century the workshops turned out comparatively modest stelai, variously assigned by M. Mariën, on grounds which occasionally strike us as somewhat flimsy, to the Claudian, Neronian, or Flavian age. By far the most arresting of the Belgian stelai is that of a schoolmaster, depicted birch in hand and grim, forbidding, and unrelenting of countenance (pl. II). But during the second and third centuries more ambitious works, monumental stelai, such as the 'stèle au satyre' (pls. xxiv, xxv), and funerary 'piliers', were in vogue. Among the latter the 'pilier du drapier' (pls. xxvi-xxviii) and the 'pilier au payement de fermage' (pl. xxix) bid fair to rival the Igel Monument for human interest. On the first of these, the wild-looking soldier seated at the counter and fastidiously fingering the cloth, and, on the second, the Silenos-faced rustic haranguing the nervous clerk who receives his rent, particularly take the fancy. The 'pilier au banquet' from Arlon in the Metz museum (pl. XII) has already been delightfully characterized by Mrs. Strong (*Apotheosis and After-Life*, p. 220). The fragment showing a hooded man drinking (pl. XIII) and the slender, elongated ladies of the 'stèle au satyre' (pl. XXIV) bear a quite startlingly medieval stamp.

M. Mariën provides us with a good bibliography and useful notes to his text. In note 22 the date of Augustus' death is given as 15, instead of 14, A.D.

J. M. C. TOYNBEE

Corpus Inscriptionum Celticarum, vol. I. By R. A. S. MACALISTER. Irish Manuscripts Commission. 10 x 6. Pp. xvii + 515. Dublin: Stationery Office, 1945. Price 42s.

The publication of this new *Corpus* seals the debt, already large, owed to Professor Macalister by all students of 'Dark Ages' epigraphy. The *Corpus* is designed to cover all the Early Christian and 'Dark Ages' inscriptions of Ireland and Celtic Britain, including those written in Oghams, in debased Roman capitals, and in 'Hiberno-Saxon' half-uncials. The Ogham-inscribed 'Pictish' monuments of Scotland are, however, excluded as not being strictly Celtic. The present volume deals with the Ogham and early Latin inscriptions, the half-uncial inscriptions being reserved for the second volume. This division, necessarily somewhat arbitrary, is in fact not strictly adhered to, for a few transitional inscriptions in mixed capitals and half-uncials (e.g. nos. 334, 480) are also included, as well as an occasional half-uncial inscription where this has been added to an earlier monument (e.g. nos. 348, 427). Incidentally, two inscriptions (nos. 335, 337) would appear from their epigraphic character to be not Early Christian but medieval. Altogether the volume describes 522 inscribed stones, of which 317 come from Ireland, 139 from Wales, and the remainder from England (44), Man (7), and Scotland (15). As practically all the

descriptions are based on a first-hand study of the actual monuments, the mere totals are a sufficient measure of the magnitude and arduousness of Macalister's achievement. The descriptions are accompanied by line-drawings and, in a few cases, by photographs. The map at the end of the volume showing the distribution of Ogham inscriptions suffers from over-reduction. The book is furnished with two adequate indexes—of place-names and personal names.

Of the two main groups of inscriptions, Ogham and Latin, dealt with in the present volume the former are the more numerous. The problems relative to the group are outlined in the Introduction. In Macalister's view, the Ogham script was in essence a gesture-alphabet, based on 'the Chalcidic form of the Greek alphabet, once current in Northern Italy'. He concludes 'that it was invented, for purposes of secret communication, in Cisalpine Gaul . . . ; that it crossed the continent along with druidry . . . ; and that at the last moment, probably in Ireland, these secret characters were made the basis of a *script*, used chiefly . . . for magical or cryptical purposes, in which the strokes represented the five fingers in various combinations and attitudes'. As the distribution map shows, the main focus of the Ogham script in Ireland was in the south, in Kerry, Cork, and Waterford, whence it was transmitted to Britain, with Pembrokeshire as the point of primary impact; there was also apparently a subsidiary spread to north Wales, to Man, and south-west Scotland. With regard to the chronological range of the Ogham script, Macalister infers that it came into vogue in the second century A.D. and lasted until the seventh century, after which, apart from scholastic survivals, it was superseded by the Irish or 'Hiberno-Saxon' half-uncial hand. There is evidence of deliberate mutilation of Ogham monuments towards the end of their vogue and later, possibly due (as Macalister suggests) to *odium theologicum*. Instances of such mutilations are noted, and, here and there, bold restorations attempted. The evidence for such mutilation, however, is not in every case convincing (e.g. no. 404).

The development of the second and smaller group of inscriptions, namely those in Roman lettering, is not discussed separately in the present volume. Though less numerous than the Ogham group, they are of wider historical significance. Epigraphically they belong to the monumental tradition of the Roman Empire. They thus compare with the Christian-Roman inscriptions of Gaul and the other western provinces, to which indeed careful analysis of their epigraphic forms in the light of the morphological criteria established by Le Blant, Bauer, and others might well bring them into specific, if only incidental, relationship. For such a study, requiring minutely accurate facsimile reproductions of all the inscriptions, the present work does not profess to cater—'the illustrations in this book are to be criticized as diagrams, and nothing more'. Within this limited purpose, however, the drawings of the Welsh inscriptions (with which alone the present reviewer can claim first-hand acquaintance) attain a higher level of accuracy than that achieved in previous compilations. Few large errors of substance have been noted. In no. 354 the inscription in the drawing is inverted in relation to the stone. In no. 360 the final AV in 1.3 should be shown ligatured, not separate. In no. 389 there is a discrepancy between the diagram and the reading given in the text. Failure to relate the inscriptions to their wider epigraphic background occasionally betrays Macalister into hazardous conjecture. Thus, the suggested dating of no. 519 (? late seventh century) is in plain contradiction with the markedly early character of its lettering. In nos. 334 and 509 the letter-forms described as 'fantastic' relate in fact to well-marked stages in a continuous epigraphic development. Minor and supererogatory blemishes are the misinterpretations of one or two intrusive Romano-British inscriptions (e.g. no. 352, Addendum).

Much patient work has still to be done before a definitive record of our Early Christian and 'Dark Ages' inscriptions can be achieved. In the meantime, the present *Corpus* takes us a useful step towards that goal. It remains to pay just tribute to the Government of Eire for sponsoring a further substantial contribution to the study of Christian archaeology.

V. E. N.-W.

The Domesday Monachorum of Christ Church, Canterbury. Edited with an Introduction by DAVID C. DOUGLAS, M.A. 17×13 . Pp. iii + 127. London: Royal Historical Society, 1944.

The *Domesday Monachorum* is a beautiful book containing eight vellum folios, in the library of the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury. It was written in three different hands, roughly assigned to 1100, 1150, and 1200, and their reproduction in facsimile in this volume illustrates the development of book hands in the monastic scriptorium of Christ Church. Incomplete and uncritical excerpts and translations have been previously printed; the publication of the complete text with an exhaustive introduction is a notable achievement, and Professor Douglas pays generous tribute to the work of other scholars in elucidating some problems of the texts.

The *Domesday Monachorum* contains documents relating to Kentish churches and to payments due from them; surveys of the lands of the archbishop of Canterbury, the monks of Christ Church, the bishopric of Rochester, and various other Kentish landowners, roughly coeval with the Domesday Survey; a list of the knights of the archbishop; documents concerning the affairs of Christ Church and its property in the latter part of the reign of Henry II.

The ecclesiastical documents throw light on the evolution of the medieval parishes, the minsters or mother churches, and the growth of parish churches, largely through private benefactions; two hundred and twelve distinct churches are named in east Kent, and these were Saxon buildings; the probable identification of Roette as Richborough from documentary evidence may be confirmed by the discovery of the Saxon chapel in the excavations conducted by Mr. Bushe Fox. It may be noted that the list of Romscot assessed on the churches of the diocese of Canterbury already provided a total of £15. 13s. 5d., whereas the sum paid over to the papacy for Peter's Pence from the twelfth century onwards was only £8.

Perhaps the most significant document is the list of knights of the archbishop, which Professor Douglas has been able to date between December 1093 and October 1096. It shows that there were then 98½ fees held by sixty-four military tenants, and the majority can be identified in the Domesday Survey as holding estates in 1086. The names of many of them occur either as donors or as witnesses of charters to Norman monasteries; from a study of their printed cartularies Professor Douglas has contributed fresh material of great interest to the biographies of the knights and incidentally made some corrections to the *Complete Peerage* and to the pioneer work of the late Professor H. W. C. Davis in *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum*. It is a little surprising that he cites Dugdale's *Monasticon* for the Annals of Bermondsey instead of Dr. Luard's edition in *Annales Monastici*. The annals were not compiled until 1433, and no statement therein can be accepted without reserve unless it can be proved from another source. It is a fact that William of Mortain was captured at Tenchebri and condemned to perpetual imprisonment. The Annals of Bermondsey alone record that he was freed from the Tower of London in 1118 through the virtue of the famous Rood of that church. This release is doubtful. In the solitary Pipe Roll of Henry I the cost in 1130 of feeding, clothing, and guarding the count of Mortain in the Tower of London is recorded. He may have been released by King Stephen, for according to the Annals of Lewes he became a monk of Bermondsey in 1140.

The text of Domesday Book is printed parallel with the description of the manors of the archbishop, the monks of Christ Church, the bishop of Rochester, and various landowners, so as to show at a glance the additional information in the *Domesday Monachorum*; e.g. one of the archbishop's tenants was Vitalis who is depicted in the Bayeux tapestry mounted and armed and announcing to William the approach of the host of Harold.

The result of the comparison of these and other similar documents has thrown more light on Domesday Book, and Professor Douglas concludes that it was a feudal and a judicial as well as a fiscal record. The identification of place-names in Normandy and in England was a formidable task which has been successfully accomplished in both text and index.

The book has been admirably produced by the Oxford University Press. A solitary misprint occurs on p. 45, line 26: 1082 should be 1182.

ROSE GRAHAM

The Victoria History of the County of Warwick, Vol. III. *Barlichway Hundred*. 12×8*½*. Pp. xv+288. Published for the University of London Institute of Historical Research by the Oxford University Press, London, 1945. 42s.

It is fairly safe to say that the future of the Victoria County Histories is now assured, and the publication of the third volume for the County of Warwick is most welcome. The first volume appeared as long ago as 1904, the second in 1908; one began to despair—it seemed likely that the admirably planned scheme would come to grief. It was a relief when it was announced that the University of London Institute of Historical Research had taken on the responsibility for its production.

The first two volumes have many most important articles, they are indispensable to anyone interested in the county, but they contain nothing topographical. The new volume deals with the Barlichway Hundred, that most interesting district which extends from Henley-in-Arden in the north to the river Avon in the south and from the western boundary of the county nearly to Warwick.

The General Editor, our Fellow, Mr. L. F. Salzman, has been happy in obtaining Mr. Philip Styles as Local Editor, and with the help of some ten contributors who have the advantage of local knowledge, has provided excellent articles on the various parishes with the history of their manors. The text is enriched with spirited heraldic drawings of the arms of the several holders drawn by our Fellow, the late Rev. E. E. Dorling. The architectural descriptions of the churches and other old buildings by our Fellow Mr. J. W. Bloe leave nothing to be desired and they are accompanied by most useful clear plans.

The Editor's first acknowledgement is, naturally, to Sir William Dugdale's wonderful book, *The Antiquities of Warwickshire*, which is a marvel of accuracy and conciseness; it was published in 1656 and largely produced during the Civil War when many restrictions were placed on him and manuscripts he would have liked to consult were in some cases denied to him. He felt very strongly the need to give to the world all available information before it should be lost as he feared might happen. Modern research has made it possible to enlarge and in some cases modify the seventeenth-century accounts, and the new volume does this in a most acceptable way; in reading it one has a feeling of confidence in its accuracy.

Mr. Styles, as well as being local editor, has written some of the articles himself: that on Stratford-on-Avon in particular is most noteworthy. Perhaps no place in the country has received more attention from the topographical writers, but they all, more or less, follow similar lines. The very considerable research work which has been done, much we understand by Mr. Styles himself, has brought to light many important facts with the result that this account of the borough is an excellent piece of work, well documented and full of interest. The over-riding personality of Shakespeare has often obliterated much that was of importance in the work of earlier writers: now we have all in proper proportion. Those mainly interested in the poet should be pleased, for they will almost certainly find some point or other new to them in this carefully compiled description of the place.

One regrets that there is no plan of Stratford; excellent plans are given of Alcester and Bidford which makes the omission more noticeable. Means of identifying the position of some of the places within the larger parishes might well have been included in a good modern map of the hundred; that given is a reduced reproduction of Beighton's map from Dugdale, which gives little more than the name of each village, and most of those on such a small scale that they can only

be read with difficulty. It is a pity also that the writers did not follow the hint given in vol. i as to the name of the Roman road which runs north and south near the western county boundary; three variants in its spelling are here used, but now practically everyone calls it Rycknield Street, following Prof. Haverfield's lead.

There are a good selection of photographic illustrations, many excellent ones by our Fellow Mr. W. A. Clark; a few are not quite up to that standard. War-time conditions may have been the cause, but these defects are slight and do not detract from the value of the volume, which is a credit to all concerned, particularly remembering the difficult times in which it was produced.

P. B. CHATWIN.

Elizabeth's Army. By C. G. CRUICKSHANK. Oxford Historical Series. $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$. Pp. x+156. London: Geoffrey Cumberlege. 10s.

This is a useful book. Contemporary pictures and sculpture, and subsequent reconstructions, have given us a fairly definite conception of the general appearance of the Elizabethan soldier, so that we know, or think we know, what he wore, and what weapons he carried, but it is another matter when we consider him in the light of modern military problems. Who called him into the Army, or decided that he, rather than his neighbour, should be sent overseas? Who provided his clothes and arms, and what happened if they were unsatisfactory? What arrangements were made about his pay, his rations, his treatment when sick or wounded? Did those arrangements actually work, and was anything done about it when they did not? Mr. Cruickshank has produced the answers to these questions from a multitude of sources, published and manuscript, which the average inquirer would not have the time, the patience, or the specialized knowledge to investigate for himself.

As a result, he satisfactorily disposes of the old-time belief that Elizabeth—and, in a lesser degree, her Council—neglected or ignored the English troops who fought in Ireland, Cadiz, or the Netherlands, and he shows what care was in fact taken, and what efforts were made, to render the system efficient and reasonably knave-proof. More, he shows to what extent those efforts were successful, and at what level—not always the same, by any means—they became ineffective. A great deal of influence, for good or ill, rested, as it does to-day, with the company officers. 'The captain', says Mr. Cruickshank, 'was . . . in an extremely powerful position and could swindle with ease and impunity both the government and his men.' (At the same time, he was best able to know what the men under his command really needed, and we are reminded that it was owing to representations by the captains that sick leave was authorized in the Netherlands in 1594.) The captain's position has always been a responsible one, and in days when communications were neither so rapid nor so certain as they have now become, the temptations to abuse that position must have been proportionately greater and more frequent. The regulations themselves show continual consideration and forethought, the blame for their ineffectiveness lies for the most part on those entrusted with their execution. Sometimes the dishonesty was at, or near, the source, as with Sir Thomas Sherley and Sir George Carew, who made vast and successful depredations on Army funds when holding the appointment of Treasurer-at-War for the Netherlands and Ireland respectively, while the attempts of Thomas Digges to enforce the muster-regulations in the former Command illustrate the difficulties of a zealous and well-meaning civilian official struggling against the collective opposition of dishonest colleagues.

What the Elizabethans themselves thought of it we learn from countless allusions in the plays of Shakespeare and his contemporaries. The main example cited by Mr. Cruickshank is Falstaff's recruiting campaign in *2 Henry IV*, but there are many odd phrases and remarks—not only in the Histories alone—that gain a new significance when read in conjunction with Mr. Cruickshank's welcome addition to Army history, and make it at the same time an interesting and valuable companion to Shakespeare study.

M. R. HOLMES.

London Museum Catalogues: No. 7. *Medieval Catalogue.* 8½×5½. Pp. 319. London, 1940.
Paper covers, 10s. Bound, 10s. 6d.

This is one of those books the importance of which is far greater than is suggested by the title. Those acquainted with the catalogues previously issued by the London Museum under the direction of the late Keeper and Secretary, Dr. Mortimer Wheeler, would certainly expect a book of great utility and of outstanding merit, but even to them the volume under review might well come as something of a revelation. For this is no mere account of the rich medieval collections of the museum, valuable as that would be, but it is in fact an English introduction to what is almost a new, and is at any rate a hitherto little explored, branch of archaeology, the archaeology of the Middle Ages. Medieval art is familiar enough: not so medieval archaeology. Our late Fellow, Mr. Dalton, could write in 1928, after his retirement from the British Museum, in which he had been particularly concerned with the medieval collections: 'The medieval side of the Department inevitably wanes by the drying up of the sources of supply.' This book, if he could have seen it, must surely have given him pause. It has 'involved not a little new research into the history or archaeology of familiar but neglected antiquities of the Middle Ages, and may, it is hoped, serve as a summary text-book on the subjects with which it deals'.

The principal author is our Fellow, Mr. J. B. Ward Perkins, for some years an Assistant in the Museum and afterwards Professor of Archaeology in the Royal University of Malta, while certain sections have been written by other persons, who have made a special study of the subjects allotted to them.

We are first given an account of Medieval London followed by some considerations of the problems of medieval archaeology. On these the author has much to say that is illuminating. Medieval towns and villages are, he points out, for the most part still inhabited and therefore, with some exceptions, not available for excavation. The masterpieces of medieval art, such as the finer examples of sculpture, enamelling, metalwork, and the like, have tended to distract attention from the austere or humbler objects. Grave-furniture, which contributes so much to our knowledge of earlier ages, had virtually disappeared owing to the influence of Christianity. But in contrast to the earlier periods the Middle Ages can show a wealth of contemporary illustrations, manuscript-illumination, sculpture in various materials, stained glass, monumental brasses, which, though not entirely dependable in detail, give valuable evidence, especially about the use of perishable objects, which have survived rather by exception. And it is the peculiar virtue of this catalogue that such illustrations are placed alongside of the plainer and more everyday objects treated; we are not only instructed as to the use of the things, our attention is drawn to the 'detail' of the illustrations, which might easily be overlooked.

The catalogue is divided broadly into sections dealing with Weapons, Horse-furniture, Domestic and Agricultural Implements. The scheme is severely practical, the various classes of objects being treated, as far as possible, typologically, line-drawings illustrating each type and, where detail is to be brought out, actual specimens in the collections: in addition there are no fewer than ninety-six plates. Each subject is accompanied by references to the latest and most authoritative books and articles for further reading, and we are presented with or put on the track of the best evidence. Light is thrown on many things in each category which had too easily been dismissed as undatable: notorious examples are arrow-heads and spear-heads, horse-shoes, stirrups, keys (often surprisingly hard to place considering their variety), and the many miscellaneous objects whose purpose is in some cases problematical. If some still elude our attempts to identify and date them, we have them at least sorted out and placed before us, with such evidence as can be adduced. Attention must be drawn to the distinguished work of the assistant authors: of Mr. G. C. Dunning, whose researches into medieval pottery have been almost a re-discovery of the subject; of Miss Janet Russell, who has contributed here and elsewhere valuable studies on leather-work; and of the late Mr. H. S. Kingsford, who made the

less unfamiliar subject of seal-matrices his own. It is further to be noted that while the descriptions and illustrations are mainly taken from the London Museum collections, objects in other places have wisely been included to serve as comparative material or to fill blanks where necessary.

When we see the date of publication, 1940, we can hardly be surprised if in some respects the book, whose chief author was then on military service, has had to be issued incomplete, the sections on coins and finger-rings having to be held over for a future supplementary volume; and if here and there slips in references occur and one or two misprints ('Crevelli' for 'Crivelli', p. 180, 'Cranden' for 'Crauden', pp. 231, 253, 'Leenwarden' for 'Leeuwarden', p. 247), the astonishing thing is that a volume so stimulating, for all its somewhat austere and matter-of-fact style, should have appeared at a time when hope was deferred and archaeology seemed little more than a dream of the past and a distant prospect of the apparently remote future.

A. B. T.

Anglo-Saxon Leicestershire and Rutland. City of Leicester Museum and Art Gallery. Illustrated Catalogue. $8 \times 5\frac{1}{2}$. Pp. 24. 1s.

The idea of a joint exhibition to illustrate one particular period in the past history of two counties was in itself an admirable project, and its value must have been considerably increased by the excellent and attractive guide prepared by Mr. Frank Cottrill, Keeper of Archaeology in the Leicester Museum.

An introduction presenting a concise survey of the conditions, physical and historical, under which the area was settled is supplemented by an admirable orographical map showing sites of pagan cemeteries in relation to natural features and the main Roman roads. The catalogue is mainly one of antiquities from the pagan period, typical examples being illustrated by excellent photographs. Relics from late Anglo-Saxon times are by comparison scarce, a fact which serves to emphasize the very salutary appeal on the end cover asking for local co-operation in the preservation of archaeological evidence of every kind, particularly by rapid approach to expert advice in the first instant of discovery. This specialized local exhibition may, it is hoped, find imitators in other individual areas or groups of associated counties.

E. T. L.

PERIODICAL LITERATURE

ANTIQUITY, no. 77, Mar. 1946.—A hill-fort in Switzerland, by G. Bersu; Pleistocene chronology in the Far East, by W. E. Le Gros Clark; A find of the Early Iron Age from Llyn Cerrig Bach, Anglesey, by W. F. Grimes; Vortigern and Actius—a re-appraisal, by P. K. Johnstone; The Sutton Hoo shield, by H. Maryon; Cerdic and his ancestors, by P. K. Johnstone; The furrows in prehistoric fields in Denmark, by E. C. Curwen; The origin of Scottish clan badges, by W. R. Kermack.

No. 78, June 1946.—Ethiopian rock-hewn churches, by D. R. Buxton; The origins of the Romano-British forum, by R. G. Goodchild; The beginning of history: a film, by Jacquette Hawkes; Horizontal water-mills of the Faeroe Islands, by K. Williamson; The early culture of Khwarizm, by S. P. Tolstov; Further note on the unicorn, by W. H. Riddell.

ARCH. JOURN., vol. 101.—The technique of air archaeology, by D. N. Riley; Cornish Bronze Age pottery, by Florence M. Patchett; An Iron Age site at West Clandon, Surrey, and some aspects of Iron Age and Romano-British culture in the Wealden area, by S. S. Frere; A Roman walled cemetery at Colchester, by A. F. Hall; Side-lights on Kenilworth Castle, by J. H. Harvey; Note on a silver parcel-gilt cross from the Abruzzi, by W. L. Hildburgh; Dudley Castle: the Renaissance buildings, by W. Douglas Simpson.

JOURN. SOC. ARMY HIST. RESEARCH, vol. 24, no. 97.—An infantry officer of 1767, by Rev. P. Sumner; Two officers' jackets at Edinburgh Castle, by Rev. P. Sumner; The Argyll or Campbell Militia, 1745–6, by Maj. I. H. M. Scobie; The Canadian militia during the colonial period, by Lt.-Col. G. F. G. Stanley.

Vol. 24, no. 98.—An officer of the 101st Foot, 1795, by Rev. P. Sumner; A Grenadier officer, 24th Foot, 1797, by Rev. P. Sumner; Charles II's regiments in France, 1672–8, part I, by C. T. Atkinson; Scots duty, by H. G. Farmer; The Jacobites in Edinburgh, by C. Grant; The origin and development of the gorget patch, by Major N. P. Dawnay; Marlborough's sieges: further evidence, by C. T. Atkinson; A bibliography of volunteering, by A. S. White and E. J. Martin.

BURLINGTON MAG., Mar. 1946.—Some English portraits by Pompeo Batoni, by J. Steegman; Medieval English alabaster figures of the Virgin and Child—II, by W. L. Hildburgh.

Apr. 1946.—Recent additions to the Kress Collection, by R. Langton Douglas; Some French books on the Fine Arts, 1939–45, by D. Sutton.

July 1946.—The *Death of the Virgin* by Petrus Christus, by M. J. Friedländer; Claude Nicolas Ledoux, by H. Rosenau.

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ART BULLETIN, vol. 27, no. 4:—Some remarks on ancient Chinese bronzes, by O. Maench-Helfen; Reply to 'Some remarks on ancient Chinese bronzes', by L. Bachhofer; Concerning a questionable identification of medieval Catalan champlevé enamels, by W. L. Hildburgh.

Vol. 28, no. 1:—Italian primitives at Konopiště, by M. Meiss; The iconographic development of the presentation in the Temple, by D. C. Shorr.

JOURN. NEAR EASTERN STUDIES, vol. 4, no. 1:—The history of ancient astronomy: problems and methods, by O. Neugebauer; Old Persian texts: VI. Darius' Naqš-i-Rustam B inscription, by R. G. Kent; I Kings 7:20, by W. A. Irwin; Corporate personality in Job: a note on 22:29–30, by R. Gordis.

Vol. 4, no. 2:—The treatment of emphatics in Akkadian, by F. W. Geers; Commentary on Nuzi real property in the light of recent studies, by P. M. Purves; 'Profit' in Ecclesiastes, by W. E. Staples; Vocabulary of Bedouin words concerning horses, by C. R. Raswan; Ecclesiastes 8:2–9, by W. A. Irwin.

Vol. 4, no. 3:—The domestic animals of ancient Mesopotamia, by A. L. Oppenheim and L. F. Hartman.

Vol. 4, no. 4:—The chronology of Jeremiah's Oracles, by H. G. May; Old Persian texts: VII. Artaxerxes I, Persepolis A; VIII. Addenda on Naqš-i-Rustam B; IX. Naqš-i-Rustam D, by R. G. Kent; 'Hawrūn-em-hab' or Haremhab?, by K. C. Seele; Ḥouroun: nouvelles mentions de cette divinité, par G. Posener; Ḥawrūn-Harmachis: a comment on Posener's 'Houroun', by K. C. Seele; The Assembly of a Phoenician city, by J. A. Wilson.

Vol. 5, no. 1:—Cuneiform material for Egyptian prosopography, 1500–1200 B.C., by W. F. Albright; Poetic structure in the dialogue of Job, by W. A. Irwin; Stray pieces of early Christian writing, by S. E. Johnson; 'Tituli Asiae Minoris', II, 522, and the dating of Greek inscriptions by Roman names, by J. A. O. Larsen; The asyndeton clause in the Code of Hammurabi, by T. J. Meck; A composite inscription from the Church of St. Simeon the Styliste, by J. Obermann; Limits in Old Testament interpretation, by O. R. Sellers; Two studies in Athenian manumission, by W. L. Westermann.

NEW ENGLAND HIST. & GENEAL. REGISTER, Jan. 1946:—William Munroe of Lexington, Mass., and descendants, by the late L. Monroe; The Coggleshalls of Halstead and Handon (*cont.*), by

G. A. Moriarty; Christ Church, Boston, Records (*cont.*), by M. K. Babcock; Henry Tibbets of Dover, N. H., and some of his descendants (*cont.*), by M. Jarvis; Nantucket supplementary records, by Mrs. S. A. Lewis.

Apr. 1946.—William Munroe of Lexington, Mass., and descendants, by the late L. Monroe (*cont.*); William Moseley, Gent., of Lower Norfolk County, Virginia, and his wife Susanna, by G. A. Moriarty; Abiel Richardson, innholder, of Cambridge, Mass., by E. C. Wright; Christ Church, Boston, Records, by M. K. Babcock (*cont.*): Henry Tibbets of Dover, N. H., and some of his descendants, by M. Jarvis (*concl.*); Nantucket supplementary records, by Mrs. S. A. Lewis (*cont.*).

SPECULUM, Jan. 1946.—The clergy, the poor, and the non-combatants on the First Crusade, by W. Porges; The *Historia Regum Britanniae* and four medieval chroniclers, by L. Keeler; A troublesome medieval Greek word, by R. F. Seybolt; The Daniel relief and Cluniac sculpture of the tenth century at Charleu in Burgundy, by E. R. Sunderland; A Feast of All the Saints in Europe, by J. Hennig; Madden's divisions of *Sir Gawain* and the 'large initial capitals' of *Cotton Nero A. X.*, by L. Littleton Hill; The Low Countries and the disputed Imperial Election of 1314, by H. S. Lucas; Manor, mark and village in the Eastern Netherlands, by B. H. Slicher van Bath.

Apr. 1946.—The theoretical attitude towards space in the Middle Ages, by R. Grinnell; The beginnings of the ecclesiastical tithe in Italy, by C. E. Boyd; The *Esplumoir Merlin*, by H. Adolf; The Chorister's Lament, by F. L. Utley; The mass conversion of the Jews in southern Italy (1290-3), by J. Starr; Caxton's *Golden Legend* and Varagine's *Legenda Aurea*, by Sister M. Jeremy; Chaucer and Dame Alice Perrers, by H. Braddy; A new manuscript of the Middle English tract on proportions, by C. F. Bühlér; A note on Michael Choniates, Archbishop of Athens (1182-1204), by K. M. Setton; The noun *mēna* in the *Divine Comedy*, by H. D. Austin; Robertus Anglicus and the introduction of demons and magic into commentaries upon the *Sphere* of Sacrobosco, by L. Thorndike; Manuscript photo-reproductions in classical, medieval, and renaissance research, by L. C. MacKinney.

REVUE BÉNÉDICTINE, tome 55 (1943-4). Tables générales des tomes XXII à LIV, 1905-42, par Dom. David Amand.

BULLETIN DES COMMISSIONS ROYALES D'ART ET D'ARCHÉOLOGIE, 1939, II:—Protection des monuments et des œuvres d'art en temps de guerre.

JOURN. W. CHINA BORDER RES. SOC., vol. 16, series A:—The ancient history of Szechwan, by Cheng Te-k'un; The megalithic remains of the Chengtu Plain, by H. Y. Feng; An introduction to the south-western peoples of China, by Cheng Te-k'un and Ling Ch'ao-t'ao; Notes on two prehistoric sites in Shensi, by Wu Liang-ts'ai.

ACTA ARCHAEOLOGICA, vol. 15, fasc. 1-2:—Zur Herkunft der Karelier und ihrer Kultur, von E. Kivikoski; Götlandisch oder Deutsch — ein Silberkreuzifix von Halikko in eigentlichem Finnland, von C. A. Nordman; Some early fourth-century sculptures, by V. H. Poulsen; The Stone Age settlement at Trelleborg, by T. Mathiassen; Three Aeginetan fragments in the Danish National Museum, by P. J. Riis.

Vol. 15, fasc. 3:—Bronze paterae with anthropomorphous handles, by M. Gjødesen; Bildnisse der Mutter Märk Aurels, von F. Poulsen; A runnel stone from the tomb of Atreus, by E. Lindsten; The inhabitants of Denmark in the Bronze Age, by H. C. Broholm.

Vol. 16, fasc. 1-3:—The Viking graves in Great Britain and Ireland, by H. Shetelig; The Vebbestrup plough. An Iron Age plough of the Crook-ard type from a Jutland bog, by A. Steensberg; The environment and dating of the Vebbestrup plough, with observations on the age of the Walle plough, by K. Jessen; Ploughs of the Døstrup type found in Denmark, by P. V. Glob; Analecta Acragantina, by N. Breitenstein; New finds of hafted Neolithic celts, by C. J. Becker; Two overlooked portraits of Antinous, by P. J. Riis; Talking, weeping and bleeding sculptures. A chapter of the history of religious fraud, by F. Poulsen; Smederup: an Early Iron Age sacrificial bog in East Jutland, by C. L. Vebæk; Were medals of merit used and worn in antiquity?, by N. L. Rasmussen; Le crâne de Hylliekroken de l'âge de pierre nordique ancien, l'époque Ertebölle. Étude d'anthropologie, par C. H. Hjortsjö.

FINSKA FORNMINNES FÖRENINGENS TIDSKRIFT, XLIV:—Skelettgravfälten på Kjuloholm i Kjulo. I. Den yngre folkvandringstiden, av Nils Cleve.

XLV:—Die Verbreitung des Bernsteins in kammkeramischem Gebiet, von A. Äyräpää; Märkmeid

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Tamula leiu Kohta, av R. Indreko; Hedningahällan, af H. Arbman; Ett bidrag till belysande av en 'cirkumpolar' stenålder, av H. Rydh; Kreuzförmige Räucherschalen aus dem Tale des Manyč, von F. Hančar; Zu einer etruskischen Henkelschale, von G. von Merhart; Un vase métallique de Podolie, par W. Antoniewicz; Några nordiska bronsåldersskulpturer med paralleller i Indo-Kina, af B. Nerman; Den äldsta järnåldersproblem, af S. Lindqvist; Donneruplund-Arden. En plov af Dostrup-Type fra Midtjylland, af P. V. Glob; En romersk bronsskål från Österbotten, af C.-F. Meinander; Hautaröykiötä Aurajoen laaksossa, by E. Kivikoski; Bysans och Orienten vid övergången till Medeltid, av N. Åberg; Motsättningar i nordisk och mellaneuropeisk folkvandringstidskronologi, af N. Cleve; Två baltiska dryckeshorn från 600-talet, af G. Arwidsson; Hunnen, Altungarn und Urbevölkerung, af N. Fettich; Oseberggraven-Helferden, af A. W. Bragger; En åländsk fågelmål, af M. Dreijer; Varsinais-Suomen esihistorialliset palmikkonauhat, by T. Vahter; Smyckebyndet från Sipilänmäki i Sakkola, av C. A. Nordman; Ett tatariskt gravfält i Sibirien, av T. J. Arne; Muinaisjalasten löytö Jämijärveltä, by T. I. Itkonen; Einige vorgeschichtliche Skier und Schlittenkufen, von T. Okkola.

FINSKT MUSEUM, XLVII, 1940:—Ålands äldsta bebyggelse, av M. Dreijer; Två åländska husgrunder från yngre järnåldern, by A. Hackman; 'Ejbykalken', av I. Kronqvist; Sankt Kristoffers bild i Borgå kyrka, av I. Kronqvist (with German summaries).

XLVIII, 1941:—En i Skåne funnen spjutspets av östeuropeisk härkomst, av N. Niklasson och A. Äyräpää; Ett i Finland funnet tistelpanne, av N. Cleve; Brakteatfyndet från Geta, av J. Voionmaa; Mäster Augustus Rudolphus' Kåsa, av A. Appelgren; Armfeltska graven i Pärnä, av C. O. Nordman; Kyrkomålaren Jonas Bergman, av S. Dahlström (with German summaries).

XLIX, 1942:—Det stämpelornade remgarnityret i fyndet från Åker i Norge, av N. Cleve; Tidig folkvandringstid på Åland, av M. Dreijer; En kyrkklocka från det gamla svenska rikets östgräns, av C. R. af Ugglas; Militärtopografisk kartritning i Finland för 150 år sedan, av C. Enckell (with German summaries).

L, 1943:—Klosterverket från Nådendal, av C. A. Nordman; Några forngraver i Laihela, av C.-F. Meinander; Ikonmålare i Aunus under 1800-talet, av L. Pettersson; Tygtryckare och färgare i Finland från 1700-talet och fram till 1809, av I. H. Ingvar (with German summaries).

LI, 1944:—Hentala övre stenåldersboplats i Borgå socken, av V. Luho; En kittelgrav på Virmo kyrkogård, av H. Salmo; Ingigerds gravsten, av C. A. Nordman; Tre återförvärvade troféeer och fyra försmådda, av C.-F. Meinander; Den finska puukon, av H. Vilppula; Apostlafigurerna från Sund, av R. Strandberg (with German summaries).

SUOMEN MUSEO, XLVII, 1940:—Merovinkaikaisen ratsusotilaan hautakalusto Euran pitäjän Papilanmäestä, by H. Salmo; Itäbalttian ja Suomen suhteista viikinkiajalla, by E. Kivikoski; Luulustimusta, by H. Vilppula (with German summaries).

XLVIII, 1941:—Kappale Salon seudun rautakautta, by E. Kivikoski; Muinaissuksia ja-jalaksia VI, by T. I. Itkonen; Hattulan kirkon pyhä ristin muistojä, by I. Kronqvist; 'Kylpevä Batseba'. Eräs piispa Eerikki Sorolaisen katekismuksen puupiirros ja sen keskiaikaiset esikuvat, by A. Långfors; Untamalan kyläkirkoen hopeavakka, by K. Vilkuna; Kampakeramisen kulttuurin savikuviot, by A. Äyräpää (with German summaries).

XLIX, 1942:—Uusia pronsiakauden löytöjä, by E. Kivikoski; Temmeksen muinaisjalas, by T. I. Itkonen (with German summaries).

LI, 1943:—Vähänkyrön Saarenpään kylän 'jättiläisten tien' geologinen iänmääräys, by M. Salmi; Vakkasuo malaisen olutkuosan alkijuuria, by A. Hirsvärvi (with German summaries).

L'ANTHROPOLOGIE, vol. 49, no. 6:—La pêche chez les peuples finno-ougriens, par Dr. Biren-Bonnerjea; Un proto-harpon aurignacien, par A. Ragout; Les Grimaldiens en Périgord, par D. Peyrony.

vol. 50, nos. 1-2:—Le gisement paléolithique de Laussel, par Dr. J. G. Lalanne et le Chanoine J. Boussonie; Nouvelles recherches sur le squelette de Chancelade, par H. V. Vallois.

REVUE ARCHÉOLOGIQUE Avril-Juin, 1940:—Les fouilles en Asie occidentale (1938-9), par C. Contenau; Monuments antiques de la Bulgarie du Sud, par D. Tsontchev; Le cimetière mérovingien du Malrat à Vouciennes, par A. Thiérot et R. Lantier; Bulletin de l'Institut archéologique bulgare, par G. Daux.

Juillet-Septembre, 1940:—L'hérōon de Phrontis au Sounion, par Ch. Picard; Quelques découvertes

de céramiques romaines dans la vallée du Danube, par A. Blanchet; La villa gallo-romaine de la Vergnéé à Romegoux (Charente-Inf.), par P. et P. Burgaud; Une tombe à char gauloise de La Tène I, par J. Dupuis.

Octobre-Décembre, 1940:—Notes sur les sculptures de Delphos, par P. de la Coste-Messelière; Le Quercy à l'époque romaine, par A. Viré; Représentation d'une école de philosophie à Athènes, par Ch. Picard; Nouvelles découvertes archéologiques à Ibiza (Baléares), par R. Hausmann.

Janvier-Mars, 1941:—Les autels de l'El-Karassi (Syrie centrale), par M. Pillet; Gloire et tares de l'art grec, par W. Deonna; Alva VII^a Phrygum, par A. Merlin; Le mithréum de Santa Prisca, à Rome, par A. Merlin; La tombe royale de Sutton Hoo, par R. Lantier; Sur quelques monuments funéraires gallo-romains des Pyrénées, par J.-J. Hatt.

Avril-Juin, 1941:—Les fouilles en Asie occidentale (1939-1940), par G. Contenau; Le sommier d'Ulysse, par H. van Effenterre; Le serment de Platées, par G. Daux; Observations sur l'affaire des Bacchanales, par Y. Béquignon; Substructions gallo-romaines de l'Échenot, par G. Drioux, G. Parmentier et J. Mulson; Une façade romane découverte à Aurillac, par P. Quarrell; Un traité sur la plastique grecque du IV^e s.: principes et méthodes, par J. Marcadé.

Juillet-Septembre, 1941:—Le peintre des hydries dites de Caéré, par N. Plaoutine; L'athlète Théogène et le ΙΕΡΟΣ ΓΑΜΟΣ d'Héraklès Thasiens, par M. Launey; Deux sépultures du début de l'Âge du Fer en Champagne, par A. Brisson; Propos archéologiques sur de prétendus 'coqs sassanides', par Ch. Picard; La vitesse des navires anciens, par E. de Saint-Denis.

Octobre-Décembre, 1941:—Sur quelques inscriptions attiques, par P. Roussel; Deux inscriptions sur des reliquaires byzantins, par A. Frolow.

Janvier-Mars, 1942-3:—Le socle marathonien de Delphes, par P. de la Coste-Messelière; Les images du galop 'ramassé' dans l'antiquité, par R. Lefort des Ylouses; Agrippa et le Champs de Mars, par P. Grimal; Mythe et légende chez les Grecs, par R. Triomphe.

Avril-Juin, 1942-3:—Les hôtes du tombeau de Psousennès, par P. Montet; Agamemnon, Télèphe, Dionysos Spahelotas et les Attalides, par G. Daux et J. Bousquet; L'histoire et la légende de la colonisation grecque en Occident, par P.-M. Duval.

Juillet-Septembre, 1942-3:—Les hôtes du tombeau de Psousennès, par P. Montet (2^e partie); Agamemnon, Télèphe, Dionysos Spahelotas et les Attalides, par G. Daux et J. Bousquet (2^e partie); André Thevet, collectionneur de portraits, par J. Adhémar; Rome, la Grèce, et la gladiature, par Ch. Picard.

Octobre-Décembre, 1942-3:—Une peinture de vase lemniennne, archaïque, d'après l'Hymne de Démodoces: *Odyss.*, VIII, 256 sqq., par Ch. Picard; Le voile d'Europé, par J. Babelon; Découvertes nouvelles à Antremont, par R. Lantier; Revue des publications épigraphiques relatives à l'antiquité romaine, par A. Merlin.

Janvier-Mars, 1944:—Dédicace archaïque de Delphes, par L. Lerat; Krisa-Kirra, par J. Roger et H. van Effenterre; L'autel aux cygnes d'Arles et la *thymélé* dans les théâtres gréco-romains, par J. Formigé; Remarques sur les origines sacerdotales de l'épos homérique, par J. Bérard.

Avril-Juin, 1944:—Sur deux enceintes d'Arcadie, par R. Martin; Les bas-reliefs de la statue du 'Tibre' au Louvre, par J. Le Gall; Remarques sur les origines sacerdotales de l'épos homérique (*fin*), par J. Bérard.

Juillet-Septembre, 1944:—Teisicrates de Sicyone et l'iconographie de Démétrios Poliorcétès, par Ch. Picard; Les bas-reliefs de la statue du 'Tibre' au Louvre, par J. Le Gall; Malherbe et Rubens, par R. Lebègue.

Octobre-Décembre, 1944:—Les Géants de la Mer, par Fr. Vian; Le Marsyas de Paestum et le roi Faunus, par A. Piganiol; L'orientation chez Homère, par F. Robert; Sculpture gallo-romaine et sculpture romane, par P. Francastel; Revue des publications épigraphiques relatives à l'antiquité romaine, par A. Merlin.

GALLIA, Tome 1, fasc. 2, 1943:—L'oppidum de Cessero, près de Saint-Thibéry (Hérault), par Dr. Coulouma et M. Claustres; Grotte sépulcrale néolithique d'Avize (Marne), par P.-M. Favret et A. Loppin; Les fouilles des Fontaines-Salées en 1942: les thermes, le 'temple de source' et les puits à cuvelage de bois, par R. Louis; Les fouilles de Gergovie (Introduction), par A. G.; La campagne de 1941, par J. Lassus; La campagne de 1942, par J.-J. Hatt; Les voies axiales de Lugdunum, par P. Wuilleumier.

et A. Audin; Les fouilles exécutées à Alésia en 1942 par la Société des Sciences historiques et naturelles de Semur, par J. Toutain; L'exploration archéologique de Bavai (Nord), par H. Bievelet; Le problème des ruines du Vieil-Évreux (Eure), par M. Baudot; Le baptistère de Saint-Rémy-de-Provence (Bouches-du-Rhône), par H. Rolland; Recherches archéologiques en Gaule en 1940, 1941, 1942, par R. Lantier.

BULLETIN DE LA SOCIÉTÉ PRÉHISTORIQUE FRANÇAISE, tome 37, nos. 4-5.—La préhistoire de Haïti, par A. Viré; Hache en silex poli ayant gardé son dispositif de fixation à un manche de bois, par Dr. S. Chauvet.

tome 37, nos. 7, 8, 9.—La Marche, Commune de Lussac-les-Châteaux (Vienne): premier atelier de Magdalénien III à dalles gravées mobiles (campagnes de fouilles 1937-1938), par L. Péricard et S. Lwoff; A propos d'une Côte Armée de petits silex de Trivaux (S.-et-O.), par Abbé H. Breuil; Les Menhirs à Clous, survivance d'un ancien rite totémique de l'arbre sacré, par Dr. M. Baudouin, A propos de la découverte des pointes solutréennes de Volgu (Saône-et-Loire) par A. Cabrol.

tome 37, nos. 10, 11, 12.—Cavernes sepulcrales et rites funéraires de l'Âge de Bronze, par A. Conil; Propagation d'Est en Ouest d'une technique préhistorique, par M. Mercier et A. Seguin: Découverte d'une lampe paléolithique à Domme (Dordogne), par Dr. A. Bastin et J. Chassaing; L'Industrie de l'ocre, par Col. F. Pupill; Poignards provenant de sépultures de l'Âge du Bronze de Chassemy (Aisne), par E. Patte; Les hommes de Piltdown et de Swanscombe sont-ils les ancêtres de l'*homo sapiens*?, par G. Pottier.

tome 38, nos. 1-2.—Station de Romanin, près Saint-Rémy-de-Provence, par H. Rolland; A propos de la technique de perforation des cylindres babyloniens et des perles préhistoriques, par Dr. Stéphen-Chauvet; Fouilles d'un petit dolmen à Trizay (Charente-Inf.), par P. Burgaud.

tome 38, nos. 3-4.—Hache plate en cuivre pur de Vendée, par E. Patte; Une fauille de pierre polie, par X. Guichard; Menhir de la Baisse des Mazes, par L. Chayla; Les tumulus de l'arrondissement de Langres, par G. Drioux.

tome 38, nos. 5-6.—Quelques aspects particuliers du Moustérien d'Engihoul, près de Liège. Burins, scries, tranchets, par Dr. A. H. Bastin; La trépanation au Néolithique, par A. Drieu; Hypothèse sur l'utilisation des pics campigniens, par X. Guichard; Découverte d'une sépulture à inhumation dans le cimetière néolithique du Verdier, par R. Terrisse; A propos d'une 'taque' de cheminée périgourdine, adornée de deux mains, par Dr. Stéphen-Chauvet.

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tome 38, nos. 9-10.—Chronologie absolue du Quaternaire donnée par la théorie du déplacement des pôles, par J. Blanchard; Le problème des éolithes et l'existence de l'homme pendant l'ère tertiaire, par G. Pottier; Note sur les transgressions marines quaternaires du littoral atlantique du Maroc, par R. Neuville et A. Ruhmann.

tome 38, nos. 11-12.—Rapport sur les travaux exécutés du 1^{er} Juillet au 6 Octobre 1941 par la Mission de l'Institut Portugais de Haute-Culture, par l'Abbé H. Breuil; Gisement préhistorique de Crabbat. Ses rapports avec les dépôts à formes géométriques du Paléolithique supérieur et du Mésolithique, par D. et E. Peyrony; Notes d'archéologie préhistorique nord-africaine sur un foyer oranien de la Sablière d'El-Kçar, par L. Goetz.

tome 39, nos. 1-2.—Contribution aux études de préhistoire de la Touraine. Les industries préhistoriques du plateau d'Athée, par Dr. A. H. Bastin; Fouilles Péricard et Lwoff à La Marche (Vienne). Industrie de l'Os, par S. Lwoff.

tome 39, nos. 3-4.—Sur un crâne néolithique pathologique, par S. de Mortillet; Les plages anciennes portugaises et leurs industries paléolithiques, par Abbé H. Breuil, M. Vaultier et I. Zbyszewski; Éléments d'une méthode destinée à reproduire par photographie directe des plaquettes gravées comme celles de La Marche, par G. Gaudron; Sur l'utilisation des tranchets campigniens, par M. Frusca; Enquête sur le gisement moustérien de Marillac, par A. Ragout et L. Balout; Le Paléolithique dans la Vallée de Bellevaud, par Mles G. Henri-Martin et S. de St.-Mathurin; Pierres gravées de la Grotte du Placard, par R. Daniel.

tome 39, nos. 5-6.—Un oppidum néolithique de la région de Vézelay, par Mlle G. Barraud; Bifaces de formes atypiques provenant du gisement de Fontmaure, par Dr. L. Pradel; Note sur les travaux préhistoriques exécutés depuis un siècle à Issoudon, par H. Guin; La station néolithique de Laugerie-Basse (fouilles de Marseilles) aux Eyzies, par Abbé A. Glory.

tome 39, nos. 7, 8, 9.—Une sépulture originale, par J. Ferrier; A propos de quelques gravures du Paléolithique supérieur et du Méolithique, par D. Peyrony; L'Industrie moustérienne de Villejuif, par E. Giraud; Os gravé magdalénien de la grotte du Pouzet, par R. Daniel; Une nouvelle grotte gravée en Périgord, par D. et E. Peyrony.

tome 39, nos. 10, 11, 12.—Découverte d'un atelier de perles néolithiques dans la région de Gao, par H. Lhote; Station préhistorique du Plateau des Chatelliers, à Amboise, par Mlle S. Braun et A. Hogstrom.

Tomes 40-2 (1943-5) have been received, and the principal papers therein will be listed in the next number of the Journal.

ARCHAEOLOGIA HUNGARIA vol. 18.—Trouvailles avares de Dunapentele, par A. Marosi et N. Fettich.

- vol. 19.—Die avarischen Gräberfelder von Üllö und Kiskörös, von T. Horváth.
- vol. 20.—La table de priviléges de Brigetio, par E. Paulovics.
- vol. 21.—Die Metallkunst der Landnehmenden Ungarn, von N. Fettich.
- vol. 22.—The crown of the Emperor Constantine Monomachos, by M. Bárány-Oberschall.
- vol. 23.—The prehistoric settlement and cemetery at Zengővárkony, by J. Dombay.
- vol. 24.—Der altungarische Grabfund von Geszteréd, von L. Kiss.
- vol. 25.—Denkmäler der Sarmatenseit Ungarn I, von M. Párducz.
- vol. 26.—Der frühbronzezeitliche Urnenfriedhof von Kisapostag, von A. Mozsolics.
- vol. 27.—Der Grabfund von Koroncó und der altungarische Sattel, von G. László.
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Downing muniments. IV. Notes on a medieval Kalendar. By A. I. Doyle. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$. Pp. 7. Reprint The Griffin, vol. 43, no. 79. 1946.

Diocesis Roffensis Registrum Harmonis Hethe, pars nona. $10 \times 6\frac{1}{2}$. Pp. 849-1190. Canterbury and York Society, part cxv, 1942.

Diocesis Roffensis Registrum Harmonis Hethe, pars nona. Edited by Charles Johnson, M.A., F.B.A., F.S.A. $10 \times 6\frac{1}{2}$. Pp. 849-1190. Kent Archaeological Society, Records Branch, Vol. IV. Part ix. Issued to subscribers to the Records Branch, 1946.

The Royal Commission on the ancient monuments of Scotland. Twelfth report, with an inventory of the ancient monuments of Orkney and Shetland. 3 vols. $10\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{1}{2}$. I. Report and Introduction. Pp. xxiii+67. 10s. II. Inventory of Orkney. Pp. xvi+383. £1. 15s. III. Inventory of Shetland. Pp. xii+180. £1. Edinburgh: H.M. Stationery Office. £3. 3s. the set.

The Chartulary of the High Church of Chichester. Edited by W. D. Peckham, M.A. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$. Pp. xvii+440. Sussex Record Society, vol. 46. Published by the Society at Barbican House, Lewes, 1946.

The History of Prittlewell. By William Pollitt, F.S.A. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$. Pp. 42. Southend-on-Sea Museum

- Handbook, No. 9. Published by the Public Libraries and Museum Committee of the Corporation, Southend-on-Sea, 1945. 1s.
- Le fer à l'époque mérovingienne. By E. Salin and A. France-Lanord. 11×9 . Pp. xvi+292. Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1943.
- The study of Africa's past. By Thurstan Shaw. $9\frac{1}{2}\times 6\frac{1}{2}$. Pp. 23. International African Institute Memorandum 21. Published by the Oxford University Press for the International African Institute, 1946. 2s.
- The Viking Graves in Great Britain and Ireland. By Haakon Shetelig. $11\times 8\frac{1}{2}$. Pp. 55. *Reprint Acta Archaeologica*, vol. 16. København: Ejriar Munksgaard, 1945.
- Anglo-Saxon England. By F. M. Stenton. $8\frac{1}{2}\times 5\frac{1}{2}$. Pp. x+748. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press. 1943.
- Court Rolls of the Manor of Wakefield, Vol. V, 1322-1331. Edited by J. W. Walker, O.B.E., F.R.C.S., F.S.A. $8\frac{1}{2}\times 5\frac{1}{2}$. Pp. xii+227. Yorkshire Arch. Soc. Record Series, vol. 109 for 1944. Printed for the Society, 1945.
- Diocese of Norwich: Bishop Redman's Visitation, 1597. Presentments in the Archdeaconries of Norwich, Norfolk, and Suffolk. Edited by J. F. Williams, M.A., F.S.A. 10×6 . Pp. 185. Norfolk Record Society, vol. 18, 1946.

INDIAN ARCHAEOLOGY

- Some ancient cities of India. By Stuart Piggott, F.S.A. $7\frac{1}{4}\times 4\frac{3}{4}$. Pp. vi+102. Oxford University Press, 1945.

INSCRIPTIONS

- Corpus Inscriptionum Insularum Celticarum, vol. I. By R. A. S. Macalister. $9\frac{1}{2}\times 6$. Pp. xvii+515. Dublin: Stationery Office, 1945.

LITURGIOLOGY

- Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie. Publié sous la direction du R^{me} dom F. Cabrol et de dom H. Leclercq. Fasc. CLVIII-CLIX. Portier-Rabula. $11\frac{1}{2}\times 7\frac{1}{2}$. Pp. 1526-2033. Librairie Letouzey et Ané, Paris, 1940.
- English Benedictine Kalendars after A.D. 1100. Edited by Francis Wormald, M.A., F.S.A. Vol. II. Ely-St. Neots. $9\times 5\frac{1}{2}$. Pp. 118. Henry Bradshaw Society, vol. 81. Printed for the Society by Harrison & Sons, London, 1946.

MONUMENTAL BRASSES

- Some illustrations of monumental brasses and indents in Kent. A memorial of Ralph Hare Griffin, F.S.A. $8\frac{1}{2}\times 5\frac{1}{2}$. 41 Plates. Printed for the Monumental Brass Society by Headley Bros., Ashford, Kent. 1946.
- Rochester Cathedral. Our monumental brasses: a sad story. By Sydney W. Wheatley, F.S.A., Hon. Canon and Assistant Librarian, Rochester Cathedral. $8\frac{1}{2}\times 5\frac{1}{2}$. Pp. 6. 3d.

NEAR EASTERN ARCHAEOLOGY

- Archéologie hittite. Par Alfred Boissier. $11\times 8\frac{1}{2}$. Pp. 75-86. *Reprint Mélanges syriens*. n.d.
- Ruined cities of Iraq. By Seton Lloyd, F.S.A. $7\frac{1}{2}\times 5$. Pp. 70. Issued for the Iraq Government Directorate-General of Antiquities. Humphrey Milford. 3s. 6d.
- Excavations at Tepe Gawra. Vol. I. Levels I-VIII. By E. A. Speiser. $11\frac{1}{2}\times 9$. Pp. xvi+220. Published for the American Schools of Oriental Research by the University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 1935.

NUMISMATICS

- A hoard of Roman *folles* from Diocletian's reform (A.D. 296) to Constantine Caesar, found at Fyfield, Berks. By E. T. Leeds, M.A., F.S.A. $9\frac{1}{2}\times 7\frac{1}{2}$. Pp. 63. Oxford: printed for the Visitors and sold at the Ashmolean Museum, 1946. 15s.
- Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum. Vol. III. The Lockett Collection, Part IV. Peloponnese-Aeolis (Gold and silver). $15\frac{1}{2}\times 12$. London: published for the British Academy by Geoffrey Cumberlege, Oxford University Press, and Spink & Son. 1945.

PREHISTORIC ARCHAEOLOGY

- Some aspects of the Prehistory of Ceylon—Part 2. By P. E. P. Deraniyagala. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$. Pp. 121–144.
Reprint Spolia Zeylanica, vol. 24, pt. 2. Colombo Museum, Ceylon. 1945.
- Le Néolithique en Côte-d'Or. Par Georges Droux. 8×6 . Pp. 16. 1941.
- Stenalderboplader i Aamosen. Af Therkel Mathiassen. $13\frac{1}{2} \times 10$. Pp. 226. Nordiske Fortidsminder III: 3. København, 1943.
- L'homme préhistorique et les préhumains. Par George Montandon. $9 \times 5\frac{1}{2}$. Pp. 355. Paris: Payot, 1943. 180fr.
- Die flinteggade benspetsarnas nordiska kulturfas. av Oskar Lidén. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$. Pp. 142. Skrifter utgivna av Kungl. Hum. Vetenskapssamfundet i Lund xxxiii. Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup, 1942.
- Das Grabfeld von Västerbjers auf Gotland von Mårten Stenberger, Elias Dahr und Henr. Munthe. 12×9 . Pp. 162. Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien. Stockholm: Wahlström & Widstrand, 1943.
- Blandebjerg. Landsænkning paa Sydlangeland i og efter Jættestuetid (with German summary). Af J. Winther. $11\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{1}{2}$. Pp. 48. Eget Forlag, 1943.
- Dating the past. An introduction to Geochronology. By Frederick E. Zeuner. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$. Pp. xviii+444. London: Methuen, 1946. 30s.

ROCK-PAINTINGS

- L'Art rupestre nord-africain. Par Raymond Vaufrey. 11×9 . Pp. 127. Archives de l'Institut de Paléontologie humaine. Mémoire 20. Paris, Masson et Cie, 1939.

ROMAN ARCHAEOLOGY

- Nouveaux fragments de poterie sigillée de Luxeuil. By J. Fromols. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6$. Pp. 115–17. *Reprint*. Weihegaben aus helvetisch-römischen Heiligtümern und Gräberfeldern. Ein Beitrag zum Götter- und Totenkult bei Kelten und Römern. Von O. Tschumi. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$. Pp. 23–35. *Reprint* Basler Zeitschrift, Band 42, 1943.

SCANDINAVIAN ARCHAEOLOGY

- Nordtäljetrakten under forntiden. En översikt utarbetad av Riksantikvarie-ämbetet. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$. Pp. 164. Antikvariska Studier II. Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens Handlingar, Del. 62. Stockholm: Wahlström & Widstrand, 1946.
- Valsgärde 6, von Greta Arwidsson. $12 \times 9\frac{1}{2}$. Pp. 151. Almqvist & Wiksells Boktryckeri A.–B., Uppsala och Stockholm. 1942.
- Den svenska Herkules. Studier i Stiernhielms, diktning. By Axel Freiberg (avec un résumé en français). $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$. Pp. 288. Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens Handlingar, Del. 61(1). Stockholm: Wahlström & Widstrand, 1945.
- Alexander Seton (1768–1828), som fornforskare. By Dagmar Selling (with an English summary). $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$. Pp. 138. Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens Handlingar, Del 59(3). Stockholm: Wahlström & Widstrand, 1945.

SCULPTURE

- Pre-Romanesque sculpture in Italy. By Arthur Haseloff. $12 \times 8\frac{1}{2}$. Pp. xi+86. Firenze: Pantheon, Casa Editrice; Paris: The Pegasus Press, 1930.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES

Thursday, 14th February 1946. J. G. Mann, Esq., Director, in the Chair.

Mr. A. R. Wagner, F.S.A., read a paper on Heralds of the Nobility; Mr. T. D. Kendrick, Secretary, read a paper on Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, and the Gardens of Adonis. Mr. H. S. London, F.S.A., read a note on Badges.

Thursday, 21st February 1946. J. G. Mann, Esq., Director, in the Chair. Prof. A. B. Knapp-Fisher and Mr. J. M. Davidson were admitted Fellows.

Mr. J. P. T. Burchell, F.S.A., and Mr. S. S. Frere, F.S.A., read a paper on Stone Age, Early Iron Age, and Anglo-Saxon finds from Sandown Park, Esher.

Thursday, 28th February 1946. Sir Cyril Fox, President, in the Chair.

Mr. C. H. Inge was admitted a Fellow.

Mr. F. Wormald, F.S.A., read a paper on the Peterborough Psalter.

Thursday, 7th March 1946. H. L. Bradfer-Lawrence, Esq., Treasurer, in the Chair.

Mrs. A. Williams and Prof. G. F. Webb were admitted Fellows.

The following were elected Fellows of the Society: Mr. Charles Edward Bean, Mr. Reginald Angus Unwin Jennings, Sir Charles Leonard Woolley, Mr. Eric Carwardine Francis, Mr. Robert Birley, Prof. Clarence van Riet Lowe, Mr. Clodesley Stannard Willis, Mr. John Weatherburn Goodison, Mr. Francis John Bagot Watson, Mr. Arthur Richard Dufty, Mr. Charles Roberts Councer, Mr. Charles Phillips Hampson, Mr. George Philip Burstow, Rev. Allan John Macdonald, Prof. Reginald Ralph Darlington.

Thursday, 14th March 1946. J. G. Mann, Esq., Director, in the Chair.

Mr. C. S. Willis and Mr. R. A. Austen-Leigh were admitted Fellows.

Mr. C. J. P. Cave, F.S.A., read a paper on Eighteen destroyed cloister bosses from St. Stephen's Cloister, and Mr. A. W. G. Lowther, F.S.A., read a paper on Roman embossed flue-tiles; their distribution and dating value.

Thursday, 21st March 1946. J. G. Mann, Esq., Director, in the Chair.

Lord Raglan was admitted a Fellow.

Mr. H. S. Braun, F.S.A., read a paper on the Antiquities of Malta.

Thursday, 28th March 1946. Sir Cyril Fox, President, in the Chair.

Mr. H. H. Coglan, F.S.A., and Miss L. F. Chitty, F.S.A., read a paper on the Perforated stone hammer; its typology and distribution.

Thursday, 11th April 1946. J. G. Mann, Esq., Director, in the Chair.

Mr. G. P. Burstow, Mr. R. A. U. Jennings, Mrs. M. L. Hencken, and Mr. F. J. B. Watson were admitted Fellows.

Professor Pericot y Garcia read a paper on Palaeolithic discoveries at Parpallò.

Thursday, 2nd May 1946, Anniversary Meeting. Sir Cyril Fox, President, in the Chair.

Prof. R. R. Darlington, Mr. R. Birley, and Mr. C. R. Councer were admitted Fellows.

Dr. W. L. Hildburgh and Dr. J. F. Nichols were appointed Scrutators of the Ballot.

The following report of the Council for the year 1945–6 was read:—

Research.—Grants from the Research Fund have been made during the year to excavations at Canterbury, Dover, Exeter, Lincoln, and Southwark. The Society's excavations within the walls of Roman London, for which grants were made last year and this, started under the direction of Mr. W. F. Grimes on 25th March. The newly constituted Research Committee has adopted a scheme for the investigation of dykes as the Society's planned course of research.

Publications.—*The Antiquaries Journal* has appeared regularly. *Archaeologia*, volume 91, was published in January. The Research Report on the Excavations at Colchester is in the press.

General.—The Reconstruction Sub-Committee concluded its detailed review of the Society's affairs and reported to Council in April 1945. Various emendations of the Statutes dealing with the number and function of Standing Committees and other matters were proposed by Council and adopted at an Extraordinary Meeting in November 1945. At the suggestion of Sir Charles Peers and the late Dean of Westminster arrangements were begun in June for holding an Exhibition in the Rooms of the Society of the royal effigies, sculptures, and other works of art from Westminster Abbey before their reinstatement in the Abbey. The difficulties encountered in the initial stages led to an alteration of plan and the offer of Mr. Leigh Ashton, Director of the Victoria and Albert Museum, to hold the Exhibition there was accepted. The arrangements were made by a Committee representing the Society and the Chapter of Westminster Abbey and an illustrated catalogue was produced, Dr. Audrey Baker acting as Exhibition Secretary. The Exhibition remained open from 31st October 1945 until 4th March 1946 and was an unqualified success.

Miss G. Caton Thompson was appointed a member of the Joint Archaeological Committee in the place of Mr. Sidney Smith.

Mr. I. A. Richmond was appointed the Society's representative on the Ancient Monuments Board.

Mrs. Louisa Hurren, who has been the Society's housekeeper for forty years, retired on pension in March 1946 in her 75th year. The Council desires to place on record its appreciation of her long and faithful service, and its good wishes to her on her retirement.

Library.—Dr. C. V. Deane took up his duties as Librarian in August. The return of the Society's books, manuscripts, and pictures from their repositories in the country was completed by the end of November, since which date the Library has been again in regular use. The Council desires to place on record its indebtedness to all those who have had the custody of the Society's possessions during their evacuation from London.

The following books, other than those sent for review, have been presented to the Library:

From the authors:—

- Excavations at Shah Tepé, by T. J. Arne, Hon. F.S.A.
- Les nouvelles fouilles archéologiques en Transylvanie, by Ion Berciu.
- Cercetări și săpături archeologice în județele Turda și Alba, by D. Berciu and Ion Berciu.
- Stenalderbopladsen i Sønderkær og Vejledalen, by W. Berthelsen.
- La formación de los pueblos de España, by P. Bosch-Gimpera, Hon. F.S.A.
- Geology in embryo (up to 1600 A.D.), by C. E. N. Bromehead.
- Monumental brasses in Somerset, pts. xi, xiii, xiv, by A. B. Connor, F.S.A.
- The defences of the Roman fort at Malton, by Philip Corder.
- The Roman pottery at Crambeck, Castle Howard, by Philip Corder.
- The Whittingham sword, by J. D. Cowen, F.S.A., and H. Maryon.
- Nouveaux fragments de poterie sigillée de Luxeuil, by J. Fromols.
- Farming systems from Elizabethan to Victorian days in the North and East Ridings of Yorkshire, by G. E. Fussell.
- Indeterminability and confusion as apotropaic elements in Italy and in Spain, by W. L. Hildburgh, F.S.A.

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- The place of confusion and indeterminability in mazes and maze-dances, by W. L. Hildburgh, F.S.A.
- Medieval English alabaster figures, by W. L. Hildburgh, F.S.A.
- Concerning a questionable identification of medieval Catalan champlevé enamels, by W. L. Hildburgh, F.S.A.
- Carved corbels, brackets, etc., in Anglesey churches, by Canon C. L. Hulbert-Powell, F.S.A.
- Kelten in Thrakien, by P. Jacobsthal, Hon. F.S.A.
- Cereals in Gt. Britain and Ireland in prehistoric and early historic times, by K. Jessen and H. Helback.
- Unrecorded microliths from Tentsmuir, by A. D. Lacaille, F.S.A.
- A contribution to the study of Tumbian culture in East Africa, by L. S. B. Leakey and Archdeacon Owen.
- Quaker meeting houses, 1670-1850, by H. Lidbetter.
- The ravages of the war in the Inner Temple, by the late Lord Justice Mackinnon, F.S.A.
- Les monuments funéraires de Buzenol, by M. E. Mariën.
- Gold ornaments from Cooper's Hill, Alnwick, by H. Maryon.
- Excavations of Bronze Age barrows at Kirkhaugh, by H. Maryon.
- The 'casting-on' of a sword hilt in the Bronze Age, by H. Maryon.
- Some prehistoric metal-workers' tools, by H. Maryon.
- The regulations of the City of Hereford, etc., 1557, by F. C. Morgan, F.S.A.
- Memorials Ickleton, by P. C. D. Mundy, F.S.A.
- Laithkirk Parish Church in history, by Rev. W. Oliver, F.S.A.
- A linear earthwork on Greenham Common, Berkshire, by B. H. St. J. O'Neil, F.S.A., and H. J. E. Peake, F.S.A.
- A Worcestershire library, by H. E. Palfrey, F.S.A.
- The Civil War round Stourbridge, by H. E. Palfrey, F.S.A.
- The ejected ministers and Stourbridge, by H. E. Palfrey, F.S.A.
- Early Nonconformity in Stourbridge, by H. E. Palfrey, F.S.A.
- History of Prittlewell, by W. Pollitt, F.S.A.
- Tyrrhenika. An archaeological study of Etruscan sculpture, by P. J. Riis.
- A drinking horn of the Viking period, by Dr. A. Roes.
- The Leopards of England and the Channel Islands, by N. V. L. Rybot, F.S.A.
- Escondrijo de la edad del bronce atlántico en Huertada Arriba (Burgos), by J. M. Santa-Olalla.
- Las primeras pinturas rupestres del Marruecos Español, by J. M. Santa-Olalla.
- Restos Ibéricos de Rellen (Alicante), by J. M. Santa-Olalla.
- La aviación al servicio de la arqueología, by J. M. Santa-Olalla.
- Esquema de la arqueología Visigoda, by J. M. Santa-Olalla.
- Las Islas Baleares y su cultura prerromana, by J. M. Santa-Olalla.
- Joyas visigodas falsas en el Museo Arqueológico de Barcelona, by J. M. Santa-Olalla.
- Los primeros grabados rupestres del Sáhara Español, by J. M. Santa-Olalla.
- B. Taracena Aguirre, Carta arqueológica de España, by J. M. Santa-Olalla.
- Briefs in St. Leonards and St. George's parishes in Deal in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, by W. P. D. Stebbing, F.S.A.
- Burgunden, Alamannen und Longobarden in der Schweiz, by O. Tschumi, Hon. F.S.A.
- Weihgaben aus helvetisch-römischen Heiligtümern und Gräberfeldern, by O. Tschumi, Hon. F.S.A.
- More thoughts and comments of a doctor, II-VII, by F. P. Weber, F.S.A.
- St. William of Perth: his story, by Canon S. W. Wheatley, F.S.A.
- From P. B. M. Allen, F.S.A.:—
Perambulation of the Hundred of Wirral, by H. E. Young.
History of Mansfield, by W. Horner Groves.
The Legards of Anlaby and Ganton, by Sir J. D. Legard.
A Cotteswold Manor: History of Painswick, by W. St. C. Baddely.
- From Rev. P. B. G. Binnall, F.S.A.:—
Boston goes to Massachusetts, by A. M. Cook.

- From the late A. H. Bright, F.S.A.:—
 The Vision of Piers Plowman (1550).
 The Prick of Conscience.
- From Sir Alfred Clapham, Hon. V.P.S.A.:—
 Historic Fotheringhay, by P. G. M. Dickinson.
- From S. Trehearne Cope:—
 Catalogue of arms, crests, shields and colophons, 1934.
- From Captain F. Crooks, F.S.A.:—
 Macpherson's original papers, 2 vols. (1775).
- From the Master and Wardens of the Worshipful Company of Drapers:—
 The History of the Worshipful Company of the Drapers of London (4 vols. and index).
- From the Librarian, University of London:—
 Catalogue of works on Archaeology and Art.
- From F. C. Morgan, F.S.A.:—
 Historic bindings in the Bodleian Library.
 Remarkable bindings in the British Museum.
 Bibliopagia: or bookbinding.
 The Forest of Arden.
- From the Secretariat, Nairobi:—
 Report on excavations at Hyrax Hill, Kenya Colony.
- From O. F. Parker, F.S.A.:—
 New and compleat history and survey of the cities of London and Westminster, by Henry Chamberlain.
 Romanae historiae anthologia recognita et aucta, by Thomas Godwyn.
 Southwold and its vicinity, by R. Wake.
 History of Rutland, by James Wright.
 The diary of Abraham de la Prynne.
- From C. A. Raleigh Radford, F.S.A.:—
 Ritratti Greci.
- From the Royal Archaeological Institute of Gt. Britain and Ireland:—
 Haandskydeabens Bedømmelse, by Johan F. Støckel.
- From J. Martinez Santa-Olalla:—
 La primera expedición paletnológica al Sáhara Español, by B. Saez Martin.
- From Sir Osbert Sitwell:—
 Proofs of an unpublished book—The Story of the Sitwells, by the late Sir George Sitwell, F.S.A.
- From the Thoroton Society Records Branch:—
 Newstead Priory Cartulary, 1344.
- From E. E. V. Wright:—
 A History of South Africa, by W. B. Worsfold.

Obituary.—The following Fellows have died since the last Anniversary:—

Ordinary Fellows

- Louis Ambler, F.R.I.B.A., 1st April 1946.
 Charles Stephen Ascherson, B.A., 10th May 1945.
 Sir James Berry, Kt., D.C.L., F.R.C.S., F.G.S., 17th March 1946.
 Captain Charles Walter Cottrell-Dormer, December 1945.
 Robert Offley, Marquess of Crewe, K.C., P.C., M.A., 20th June 1945.
 Randall Davies, 24th January 1946.
 Rt. Rev. Paul Fulcrand Delacour de Labilliére, D.D., 28th April 1946.

- Frederick William Duart-Smith, 14th May 1945.
 Walter Parry Haskett-Smith, 11th March 1946.
 Walter Scott Henderson, LL.B., 26th June 1945.
 Charles Harry St. John Hornby, B.A., 26th April 1946.
 Arthur Lee Humphreys, 21st March 1946.
 Hylton George Hylton, Lord Hylton, M.A., 26th May 1945.
 Herbert Wheatley Knocker, 29th September 1945.
 Alfred Lucas, O.B.E., 9th December 1945.
 David Randall MacIver, M.A., F.B.A., D.Sc., 30th April 1945.
 Sir Frank Mackinnon, Lord Justice of Appeal, 23rd January 1946.
 Percy Morris, F.R.I.B.A., 27th September 1945.
 Richard William Alan, Earl of Onslow, P.C., G.B.E., 9th June 1945.
 George Henry Palmer, B.A., 2nd July 1945.
 Thomas Wilson Parry, M.A., M.D., B.Ch., F.G.S., 21st September 1945.
 Frederick Ernest Pearce-Edwards, F.R.I.B.A., 19th November 1945.
 William Henry Quarrell, M.A., 17th October 1945.
 Athelstan Riley, M.A., 17th November 1945.
 John Davy Rolleston, M.A., M.D., F.R.C.P., 13th March 1946.
 Noel Philip Wentworth Viner-Brady, 2nd August 1945.
 Quintin Waddington, 7th February 1946.
 Benjamin Walker, 15th June 1945.
 Major Duncan Grant Warrand, O.B.E., M.A., 3rd February 1946.

Honorary Fellows

- Dr. Oscar Almgren, 13th May 1945.
 Dr. Ion Andriesescu, 17th December 1944.
 Léon Coutil, 24th January 1943.
 Professor Hans Dragendorff, 29th January 1941.
 Halil Edhem Bey.
 Comte Alexandre de Laborde.
 Dr. Ugo Rellini, June 1943.
 Dr. Hans Seger.
 Dr. Ferenc Tompa, 1945.
 Professor Paul Vouga, 1940.

DR. OSCAR ALMGREN, who was elected Honorary Fellow in 1925, died on 13th May 1945. He was holder of the first professorship in Scandinavian and Comparative Archaeology in Sweden. He served for many years at the State Historical Museum, and was well known as a field archaeologist. His study of the typology of North European fibulae earned him an international reputation. Of great importance also were his works on the ancient monuments of Sweden, and of the Iron Age culture of Gotland.

PROFESSOR ION G. ANDRIESCU, who was elected an Honorary Fellow in 1933, was, at the time of his death on 17th December 1944, Professor of Archaeology and Prehistory in the University of Bucharest. He was born in 1888, and, as a young man, entered the National Museum of Antiquities as an assistant, where he reorganized the prehistoric section. After travel in Bulgaria, Greece, and Yugoslavia he became Conservator of the National Museum, succeeding to the Directorship in 1927 on the death of Professor Parvan. Between the wars he directed numerous excavations in the field.

SIR JAMES BERRY, who was elected a Fellow in 1915, died on 17th March 1946, aged 86. Educated at Whitgift School, Croydon, he received his medical training at St. Bartholomew's Hospital, thereafter becoming a distinguished surgeon and holding numerous hospital appointments. With his first wife he was joint head of the Anglo-Serbian Hospital Unit in Serbia, 1915-16, and Medical Officer to the British Red Cross Unit with the Yugoslav Army at Odessa, 1916-17. For these services he received Rumanian, Serbian, and Russian decorations. He travelled frequently and widely in the Near East, and in 1919 read a paper to this Society on the fortified churches of Transylvania (*P.S.A.* xxxi). After the war he conducted excavations near Aylesbury, and in 1930 continued the excavation of Belas Knap Long Barrow, begun by H.M. Office of Works. He received a knighthood in 1925. He was President of the Medical Society (1921-2), and of the Royal Society of Medicine (1926-8). He was a frequent attender at meetings of the Society and served on the Council in 1929.

RANDALL DAVIES was elected a Fellow in 1900. Born in 1866, the son of the incumbent of Chelsea Old Church, his first book was an account of this church (1904). Between 1906 and 1916 he wrote art criticism for various papers, and several books on painting and painters. His three books of limericks, illustrated by old woodcuts (1912-27), established his reputation as a humorist. His critical works included monographs on Velasquez, Reynolds, Romney, and numerous other works, one of the last being on the Victorian watercolours at Windsor Castle. For a time he was London adviser to the Felton Bequest of Melbourne. He had a very large collection of prints and drawings.

RT. REV. PAUL FULCRAND DELACOUR DE LABILLIERE, Dean of Westminster, only became a Fellow in 1944, but he was a frequent attender at the meetings of the Society and took a prominent part in the arrangements for the Exhibition of the Royal Effigies and other treasures from Westminster Abbey, recently held under the auspices of the Society at the Victoria and Albert Museum.

Educated at Harrow and Merton College, Oxford, he was ordained in 1902, after which he held various curacies in this country and in South Africa. From 1916 to 1919 he was temporary Chaplain to the forces in Egypt, being mentioned in dispatches. In 1927 he went to the north, becoming Bishop of Knaresborough and Archdeacon of Leeds seven years later. In 1928 he was appointed Dean of Westminster and in the same year Dean of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath. He died on 28th April 1946, aged 67.

PROFESSOR HANS DRAGENDORFF, who was elected an Honorary Fellow in 1933, died at Freiburg im Breisgau on 29th January 1941. Born at Dorpat in 1870, he studied at the Universities of Dorpat and Bonn, where he was a pupil of Loeschcke. After experience of excavation in Greece and the Near East, he taught for some years at the University of Basel. On the formation of the Römische-Germanische Kommission in 1902, he became its Director. He was Secretary-General of the Deutsche Archaeologische Institut of Berlin from 1911 to 1922, when he became Professor of Classical Antiquities in the University of Freiburg im Breisgau, a post he held for eleven years. In 1939 he was appointed Head of the Institut at Frankfurt-am-Main. His most notable contribution to knowledge was in the field of Greek and Roman ceramics. He founded the methodical study of Samian ware in his papers in the *Bonner Jahrbücher* in 1895, which have since formed the basis of its classification. He was both a great archaeologist and a great administrator.

CHARLES HARRY ST. JOHN HORNBY was elected a Fellow in 1914 and served on the Council in 1929. Born in 1867 at Ashendene, Herts., he was educated at Harrow and New College, Oxford, where he rowed in the winning University crew of 1890. After being called to the Bar in 1892, he entered the firm of W. H. Smith & Son, eventually becoming senior partner.

As a young man he established the Ashendene Press as a personal venture, and later acquired

for Smith's the Arden Press, and gave fine printing a commercial application. By assembling round him binders, illuminators, and calligraphers whom he inspired and commissioned, he exercised a far-reaching influence on public taste. He collected with fine discrimination illuminated MSS., incunabula, modern printed books and Hispano-Moresque pottery. Shelley House, his home on Chelsea Embankment, was built for him by our late Fellow E. P. Warren, F.R.I.B.A.

He became a Trustee of the Wallace Collection in 1933 and of the British Museum in 1936.

ARTHUR LEE HUMPHREYS was elected a Fellow in 1923. A notable bibliophile, he entered the firm of Hatchards as a boy, and retired as senior partner in 1924. He had become an expert on the formation and valuation of private libraries, and after his retirement he continued as a private library consultant. He wrote a number of books, including monographs on the local history of Somersetshire and Berkshire. He was a member of the Council of the British Record Society and a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society. He died on 21st March 1946, aged 81.

ALFRED LUCAS was elected a Fellow in 1933. He first went to Egypt in 1897, and died at Luxor on 9th December 1945. As chemist to the Egyptian Department of Antiquities, he was responsible, with Mr. A. C. Mace, for the preservation and treatment of the objects discovered in the tomb of Tut-anhk-Amen, and he contributed the sections on the chemistry of the tomb to Mr. Howard Carter's volumes.

DAVID RANDALL MACIVER was elected a Fellow in 1907. After graduating from Queen's College, Oxford, in 1896, he was Laycock student of Egyptology at Worcester College, and from 1907 to 1911 Director of the Eckley B. Coxe, Jr. Expedition of the University of Philadelphia to Egypt and the Sudan. In 1914 he relinquished the Librarianship of the American Geographical Society to serve on the Intelligence Staff in France and Macedonia. After the war he took up the research work in Italy to which he devoted the rest of his career. His *Villanovans and the Early Etruscans* (1924) and *Iron Age in Italy* (1927) were followed by *Greek Cities in Italy and Sicily* (1931) and other books, among which should be mentioned his work at Zimbabwe in *Medieval Rhodesia*. He died in New York on 30th April 1945 at the age of 72.

RICHARD WILLIAM ALAN ONSLOW, EARL OF ONSLOW, who died on 9th June 1945, was elected a Fellow in 1927. He had a varied and distinguished career devoted to the service of the State. His interests were wide. For many years he was associated with the Royal Zoological Society, and was its President from 1936 to 1944, as he was of the Society for the Preservation of the Fauna of the Empire. Medieval history also figured among his many interests, and he published a life of the Empress Maud (1940). He was a Fellow of the Royal Historical Society and President of the Surrey Archaeological Society at the time of his death.

GEORGE HENRY PALMER was elected a Fellow in 1923. He joined the staff of the Victoria and Albert Museum in 1889, and became Keeper of the Library in 1897, a post which he held until his retirement in 1931. His special field of bibliographical study was the history of book-binding. As Keeper during a period remarkable for the scientific development in the history of art, he was responsible for building up the collection which forms a unique instrument for art-historical research in this country. He died on 2nd July in his 75th year.

THOMAS WILSON PARRY was elected a Fellow in 1918. After he left Cambridge his medical training was obtained at St. George's Hospital. After practising at Youlgreave, Derbyshire, he settled at Crouch End in 1907 and retired thirty years later. Despite the calls imposed by his profession, he attended the meetings of the Society when he could, and devoted himself to the study of prehistoric antiquities and primitive technology. He is best known for his wide and fruitful researches on the artificial holing of the human skull in prehistoric times, and on this subject he wrote a number of monographs. His remarkable collection, which comprises trephined skulls, specimens, and photographs illustrating his experiments in recapturing the art of Stone

Age surgery, is on view at the Wellcome Historical Medical Museum. Dr. Parry died on 21st September 1945, aged 79.

DR. UGO RELLINI, who was elected an Honorary Fellow in 1933, died at Rome in June 1943 at the age of 73. He had held the chair of Prehistory in the University of Rome from 1928 until 1940, and was founder of the Museo delle Origini e della Tradizione of that university, which contained valuable collections of prehistoric material, in part from his own excavations. He was Director of the *Bollettino di Paleontologia italiana* and published numerous books and articles on Italian prehistory. His investigations covered the whole field of Italian prehistory from paleolithic times—to which he brought a wide knowledge of natural science—to the exploration of Iron Age cemeteries. His best-known discoveries were those of the fossil man of Maiella, and of the Lower Paleolithic cultures of Loretello and Terranero. The work he did on early painted pottery of Middle and Southern Italy will be better appreciated when this pottery has found its proper place in the painted vase cultures of eneolithic times.

JOHN DAVY ROLLESTON, elected a Fellow in 1926, was a medical historian of international reputation. Son of the late Professor George Rolleston, he was educated at Marlborough and Oxford, receiving his medical training at Charing Cross Hospital. He was for some years Librarian of the Royal Society of Medicine, of which he was a Fellow. President of the Society's section of the history of medicine, he was a member also of the corresponding societies in France and Rumania. He served as General Secretary of the International Congress on the History of Medicine in London, 1922, and Vice-President of the Congress at Geneva, 1925. He was a member of the Council of the Folk-Lore Society.

DR. HANS SEGER, elected an Honorary Fellow in 1933, was one of the pioneers of prehistoric studies in Eastern Germany, and his outlook was free of those nationalistic ideas which later led to disaster. He was at first Assistant, and later Director, of the Schlesisches Altertums Museum in Breslau, and Professor at Breslau University. His published works deal with the prehistory of Silesia and its relation to surrounding countries.

PROFESSOR PAUL VOUGA was elected an Honorary Fellow in 1933. Born at Marin near Neuchâtel, he early showed interest in prehistory and started excavations at La Tène with his father, who was a teacher there. In 1906 he became Professor at the École Supérieure de Commerce at Neuchâtel, and four years later Professor at the University there, at the same time being Director of Excavations and Keeper of the Archaeological Collections at the Historical Museum of Neuchâtel. In 1923 appeared his monograph on La Tène, followed by other papers on Swiss Lake Dwellings. He died in 1940 at the age of 60.

QUINTIN WADDINGTON was elected a Fellow in 1930, and was a member of Council 1939-40. Born at Southampton in 1867, he spent a great part of his life as a schoolmaster and tutor. He entered the service of the Corporation of London in 1922, and subsequently became Assistant Curator of the Guildhall Museum, which post he held at the time of his sudden death on 7th February 1946. He had a profound knowledge of the history of the City, which he placed freely at the disposal of the many who came to consult him. He had a special gift for imparting his knowledge, whether to parties of schoolchildren in the Museum or to the readers of the *Evening News*, to which paper he contributed articles on London. At a time when excavations in Roman London are again in progress the loss of his wide experience will be severely felt.

The Scrutators having handed in their report the following were declared elected officers and members of Council for the ensuing year: Sir Cyril Fox, President; Mr. H. L. Bradfer-Lawrence, Treasurer; Mr. J. G. Mann, Director; Mr. T. D. Kendrick, Secretary; Mr. H. C. Brentnall, Prof. V. Gordon Childe, Dr. J. G. D. Clark, Mr. R. H. D'Elboux, Mrs. D. P. Dobson, Mr. A. I. Ellis, Dr. Joan Evans, Mr. W. H. Godfrey, Mr. D. B. Harden, Mr. T. C. Lethbridge,

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES 233

Mr. E. W. Lovegrove, Mr. B. H. St. J. O'Neil, Prof. Stuart Piggott, Prof. W. Rees, Prof. A. E. Richardson, Dr. I. A. Richmond, Miss M. V. Taylor.

The President then delivered the Anniversary Address (pp. 109-17). On the motion of Miss M. V. Taylor, Vice-President, the following resolution was carried unanimously: 'That the best thanks of the meeting be given to the President for his Address and that he be requested to allow it to be printed.' The President signified his assent.

Thursday, 9th May 1946. Sir Cyril Fox, President, in the Chair.

Mr. J. W. Goodison was admitted a Fellow.

The following were elected Fellows of the Society:—Mr. Arthur William Everett, Mr. Philip George Murgatroyd Dickinson, Miss Katherine Maud Elizabeth Murray, Mr. Hugh Duncan Butchart, Rev. Cyril Leonard Cresswell, Mr. Walter Fraser Oakeshott, Rev. Canon Sidney Leslie Ollard, Sir James Alan Noel Barlow, Rev. Canon Harold Davies Littler, Mr. Humfrey Grose-Hodge, Mr. Ralph Edwards, Mr. James Ronald Teggan, Dr. Oliver Robert Gurney, Sir Walter de Lancey Aitchison, Bt., Miss Margaret Envys Wood, Mr. George Cowper Hugh Matthey, Mr. Henry Bromley Bromley-Derry, Mr. George Ravensworth Hughes.

Thursday, 16th May 1946. J. G. Mann, Esq., Director, in the Chair.

Mr. G. D. Squibb and Canon S. L. Ollard were admitted Fellows.

Mr. J. G. Noppen, F.S.A., read a paper on Building by King Henry III, The Exchequer of Works at Westminster, and Edward the son of Odo.

Thursday, 23rd May 1946. B. H. St. J. O'Neil, Esq., Vice-President, in the Chair.

Mr. H. Grose-Hodge, Mr. P. G. M. Dickinson, Miss M. E. Wood, and Miss K. M. E. Murray were admitted Fellows.

Mr. D. R. Buxton read a paper on Christian Antiquities of Northern Ethiopia.

Thursday, 30th May 1946. Sir Cyril Fox, President, in the Chair.

Mr. G. C. H. Matthey, Mr. J. R. Teggan, Sir Leonard Woolley, Mr. R. Edwards, and Dr. O. R. Gurney were admitted Fellows.

Professor John Garstang, F.S.A., read a paper on Hittite military roads in Asia Minor.

Thursday, 6th June 1946. B. H. St. J. O'Neil, Esq., Vice-President, in the Chair.

Mr. A. W. Everett was admitted a Fellow.

Mrs. J. J. Hawkes, F.S.A., introduced a film entitled 'The Beginning of History', which had been made for the Ministry of Education.

The Ordinary Meetings of the Society were then adjourned until Thursday, 31st October 1946.

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